

THE
INDIAN WORLD

**A MONTHLY REVIEW OF INDIAN
POLITICS & ECONOMICS, ARTS &
INDUSTRIES, HISTORY & LITERATURE**

Regd. No. C 351

**EDITED BY
PRITHWIS CHANDRA RAY**

Vol. XII.

August—1910

No. 65

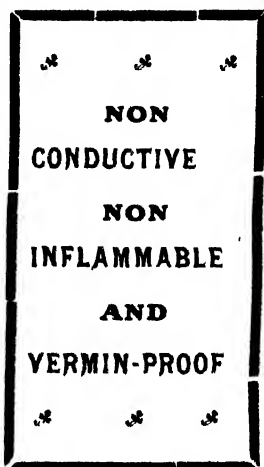
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Vol. XII]

AUGUST—1910

[No. 65

DIARY FOR JULY, 1910

Date

1. A memorandum is issued by the Finance Department of the Government of India announcing the formal amalgamation from to-day of the Civil and the Public Works Accounts and the creation of the new post of Accountant-General of Railways with a view to re-organize railway accounts.

It is notified today (1) that in the calendar year 1911 not more than 31,440 chests of Bengal opium will be offered for sale and not more than 2,620 chests in each month of the year ; (2) that of the quantities to be offered for sale each month not more than 1,360 chests will be Benares opium and not more than 1,260 chests Patna opium, and (3) that no reduction will be made in these quantities without 3 months' previous notice.

A resolution of the Government of India announces that from the 1st January, 1911, the system of deposits in Post Office Savings Banks, subject to 6 months' notice of withdrawal at $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., should be abolished and the rate of interest on deposits at call will remain at 3 per cent., but the maximum limit of actual cash deposits will be raised from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500.

The conductors of the Calcutta Tramways Company strike work, their grievances being a very low scale of pay and the imposition of heavy fines on slightest grounds.

The Shahajanpur Arya Samaj has decided to endow a scholarship in the name of King Edward VII for deserving students to prosecute their studies in the United Provinces on ancient Vedic lines.

2. The Secretary, Bengal Muslim League, submits a memorial to the Government of India drawing their attention to the "wide-spread feeling of discontent and irritation caused in India by the recent deportation of Indians from the Transvaal" and pointing out that "representations and remonstrances having failed, the time has come for the adoption of rigorous measures of retaliation by the Government of India."

3. The Steamer *Trieste* reaches safe at Bombay harbour after meeting with serious reverses during her outward voyage to India. She was towed into harbour by the British Steamer *Lowther Range*.

4. A serious flood takes place near Khurda on the B. N. Ry. causing delay to several trains including the Madras Mail on the way to Howrah.

Moulavi Mohimuddin, Sub-Inspector of Police, and two constables each are sentenced to 3 and 2 years' rigorous imprisonment respectively by the Sessions Judge of Midnapur for torturing an accused in a murder case to extort confession.

5. The Marine Court publishes the results of its enquiry into the causes of the burning of the steamer *Aka* near Khulna, and holds that the fire was caused by the sudden grounding of the steamer owing to

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sounding not being taken while going at a full speed the shock of which brought a portion of the jute, which was not covered and protected, into contact with a lighted lamp.

Sir Charles Hardinge, the Viceroy-Designate of India, is raised to the English Peerage.

6. To-day's *Calcutta Gazette* publishes a resolution reviewing the Police Administration in Calcutta for the year 1909, and notes the decrease in political crimes and admits the necessity of differential treatment in respect of juvenile offenders.

The Bengal Government Resolution on emigration from Calcutta to British and Foreign Colonies notes a decrease of 5,057 emigrants during 1909.

The Report of Public Instruction in Bengal for 1909 shows that there were 46,385 schools with 1,421,389 pupils of which 1,109,234 were Hindus and 236,205 Mahomedans.

The Calcutta Health Officer's report on beri-beri in Calcutta during 1909 puts the number of deaths from this disease at the figure 433, of which no less than 283 occurred among women.

At the monthly opium sale in the Customs House in Calcutta this morning, 330 lots of Behar and 330 lots of Benares opium were sold.

A resolution is published announcing the intention of the Government of India to borrow 150 lakhs of rupees for the public service by issuing Promissory Notes for the same amount to which will apply all the conditions applying to Notes of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of 1900-01.

7. In the appeal of Mr. Nand Gopal, the editor of the now-defunct *Swaraya* of Allahabad, the High Court reduces the sentence from 10 years' to 5 years' transportation.

8. Replying to a question by Mr. John Jardine, Mr. Montague says that, after careful consideration, the Secretary of State in Council has come to the conclusion that the establishment of a Chartered High Court in Burma was not required in the interests of the province.

Lord Gladstone in a speech during his first official visit to Johannesburg recognised that the Mahomedans and British Indians had a claim to his attention and he could not forget His Majesty's Imperial responsibilities or ignore his own.

The Hongkong Chamber of Commerce sends a message to the Legation at Peking stating that the opium trade has been absolutely demoralized by the Canton monopoly-tax and that prompt action is necessary. The Consul-General at Canton has again called the attention of the Chinese Viceroy at Canton to the persistent violation of the Chefoo Convention, adding that it may lead to Great Britain revising the terms of the Opium Agreement.

9. The Government of India have agreed to allow the importation of Jaffna tobacco of Ceylon into Travancore under the old conditions, provided tobacco is intended for Travancore only and not for re-exportation.

By a notification issued to-day, the Government of India abolish the system of bearing post cards of private manufacture and requiring henceforth the payment of postage on inland post cards of private manufacture, and unless they are prepaid they are liable to be destroyed by the Post-Master General.

By a Resolution issued today, the Government of India announce a general increase of the pay in all grades of the clerks of the India Secretariat and abolish the system of competitive examination for ministerial offices.

At the annual Indian Civil Service Dinner held at London, Sir William Lee-Warner presiding, Lord Curzon recommends "as serious symptoms" to the attention of Government the fact that "whereas a few years ago, at least half the men who took the highest places at Civil Service Examinations chose an Indian career, the proportion now is less than one third."

A Conference of some high officials of Ebassam meets at Shillong to discuss the river police scheme of the Province.

10. It is reported today that Suleman Khel and Koch, two Afghan dealers in arms, headed by a well-known arms dealer, Nurakal Khan, have submitted a petition to the Amir strongly pressing him to make representations to the British Government on the subject of capture of arms and ammunition by British authorities in the Persian Gulf, and declare that the business of the petitioners have seriously suffered during the last few months and warned His Majesty that the continuance of British activities in the Gulf might lead to scarcity of arms in Afganistan.

11. Debendra Nath Bhattacharya, Police Sub-Inspector of Raipura in Naraingunge, Dacca, is sentenced to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment for taking Rs. 12,000, as bribe in a murder case and the Head Constable implicated in the transaction gets one year.

Returns published today for the first quarter of the current official year show an excess of 58 44 lakhs of rupees over the second quarter of last year, the first quarter usually yielding less than quarter of the revenue for the whole year.

12. The Government of Madras issues a notification permitting Government servants to make investments in all *central* Co-operative Banks in the Presidency.

With a view to curtail the exodus expenditure it is reported today that the offices of the Director-General of Post Offices will remain in Calcutta while some of the offices will winter at Simla.

Probbash Chandra Deb and Phonibhusan Ghosal are arrested in Calcutta as suspected printers of the *Yugantar* leaflets that are being issued from time to time without the police having any trace of the places of its publication. A printing press, and two bundles of vernacular types with some documents alleged to be of incriminating character and some copies of the *Yugantar* similar in substance to those issued previously, are seized by the Police at 72, Sikdarbagan Street, the residence of Phanibhusan Ghosal.

The erosion of the Indus assumes a serious shape, completely inundating the town of Dera Ghazi Khan, felling strong-built houses, mosques, shrines and temples, making hundreds of people homeless, the loss of property amounting to several lakhs of rupees.

13. Dr. Lueders, the distinguished Berlin authority on Sanskrit, has succeeded in deciphering the Sanskrit manuscripts discovered at Turfan in Central Asia by Lecoq. They consist of scenes from plays, some being 2,500 years old.

Paris telegrams state that owing to French newspaper protests against the surrender of Savarkar, the French Government has issued a statement explaining the charges against Savarkar, and stating that the British authorities requested the Government to have the S. S. *Morea* watched at Marseilles lest his compatriots should attempt to assist Savarkar's escape.

The Government of Bombay issues a resolution giving details of a scheme for the experiment of rubber cultivation in several select places in the Presidency.

On an appeal preferred by Mr Lal Chand Falak against the order of sentence of 2½ years passed upon him by the lower court for publishing the book, *Sarkari Mulsazmat* or "Government Service," Mr Justice Ryves of the Punjab Chief Court reduces the sentence to 6 months.

14 Constantinople telegrams state that the Porte has expressed its regret to Mr. Lowther at the failure to observe the capitulatory rights in the case of two British Indians arrested and imprisoned at Damascus, and subsequently released. The Porte has promised to instruct the Valis to prevent a recurrence of the incident.

Hongkong telegrams state that the Chinese authorities have admitted the illegality of the tax imposed upon Indian opium at Canton

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and have instructed the Chinese Viceroy at Canton to withdraw the same.

A voluminous blue-book on Tibet is published today, the principal feature being a strong despatch from Sir Edward Grey insisting that China shall observe her treaties and trade agreements, intimating that England is prepared to protect her interests in Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, and warning China of the inadvisability of increasing her troops in the vicinity of those States.

The Mail Tonga in the Tochi Valley in the Frontier Province is attacked by a gang of outlaws from Dour: the mail is looted and two passengers are carried off who are, however, eventually rescued and the mail recovered.

15. Mr. Debiprosanna Ray Chaudhury, the editor of the *Natya Bharat* and the proprietor of the *Nabyabharat* Press, is arrested by the Calcutta Police on the charge of printing a seditious publication named *Analprabha*, written by one of the name of Mahomed Shiraji.

A passenger train leaving Sealdah for Diamond Harbour is stoned with a heavy shower of brick-bats.

A disastrous fire, which resulted in the death of nine persons and in ten more being more or less severely injured, broke out at Wadgadi in Bombay causing damage estimated to be Rs. 40,000 which is covered by insurance.

A resolution is published by the Government of India abolishing the present system of recruitment of officers of the Indian Army for the Military Accounts Department and stating that in future Civilians will be appointed for the Department.

The administration report of Bombay Jails for 1909 shows an increase of jail population over the last year, the expenditure incurred being Rs. 873,164, the cost per head being Rs. 98-2-4.

The Mahomedans of Radhanpore submit a memorial to the Bombay Government protesting against the order of the late Nawab of Radhanpore, a Mahomedan ruler, prohibiting slaughter of cows in the State, as a result of which, it has been ascertained, the number of cows has now increased from 10,566 in 1906 to 17,137 in 1910.

16. A Resolution on the report of the Sanitary Commissioner, Bengal, for the year 1909, is published today by the Bengal Government showing "marked improvement" in the health of Bengal, there being appreciable increase in the number of births and decrease in the number of deaths as compared with the figures for 1907 and 1908.

The Police raid a Hindu Temple at Rajahmundry to-night, stopping the *Bajana* that was going on, forcibly carrying away the musical instruments to the Police Station, extinguishing the lights before the image in the Temple, inspite of the protests of the worshippers and of so well-known a person as Mr. Ramachandra Rao, a mill-owner, and the proprietor and Dharmakarta of the Institution, and 15 persons with Mr. Ramachandra are bound over on the spot to appear before the Magistrate to answer charges of their being members of an unlawful assembly.

18. Nearly hundred weavers of Ramjibanpore in Midnapore are placed under Police custody for their having woven cloths with seditious songs on their border.

Returns published today show that, from the beginning of the year up to date, Bengal opium has fetched Rs. 1,36,93,290 better than the estimate, and Bombay opium 122,400 better than the estimate, making the total revenue better than the estimate by Rs. 1,38,15,690.

An attempt to wreck the Khulna Mail train near Dattapukur Station on E. B. S. Ry. was made by placing three iron fish-plates across the metals. The danger was, however, averted by the timely precaution taken by the driver.

Five Hindus are arrested opposite to the Railway Station in Ahmedabad with three bombs and other materials.

The first issue of the organ of the Bombay Moslem League, entitled *The Moslem*, is published today at Poona.

19. Worms in betel leaves are reported to have been discovered in several East Bengal districts, several deaths being reported from Dacca, Comilla and Mymensing.

As a result of numerous memorials, the Government of India have agreed to confer the privilege of Gazetted rank on all Upper Subordinates of the P.W.D. of the rank of Sub-Engineers.

Bharat Chandra Dey is arrested at Mymensing for attempting to sacrifice his grand-child to the goddess *Kali*.

A meeting of the Hindu Distress Relief Committee of Lahore, of which Sir P. C. Chatterjee is the president, is held today to concert measures for giving relief to the Hindu sufferers at Dehra-Ghazi-Khan. The Committee has at its disposal Rs. 37,000 handed over to it by Lala Lajpat Rai after meeting the expenses of the famine relief operations of 1908.

Owing to the unsatisfactory condition of the wheat crop in America and the rapid fluctuation of prices there, wheat prices in the Punjab are reported to have considerably gone up.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Montagu replying to Lord Ronaldshay, denies any intention at present to strengthen the provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act and states that its further extension on its expiration on the 31st October is *not* due to any increase of agitation.

A Conference of leading men of Bengal is held at Belvedere, Sir Edward Baker presiding, to consider the proposal of erecting a King Edward Memorial in Bengal. An Executive Committee with the Chief Justice as its president, and a General Committee with the L.-G. as its Chairman, are formed.

In reply to questions by Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Montagu justifies the recent Proclamation by the Punjab Government of the Rohtak district under the Seditious Meetings Act and observes that in India religious meetings very often become political.

At the instance of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, a Committee has been organised in Marwar with Rao Shukdeb Prasad Bahadur, C.I.E., Prime Minister of the State as President, with a view to collect materials for the purpose of the conservation of the bardic chronicles of India.

In reply to a letter from the Bombay Government intimating the Government's desire to resume the rights of reclaiming Back Bay, the Trustees of the City Improvement Trust send a letter assuring the Government that the Trust intend to carry out the reclamation in the Back Bay so soon as they find a contractor to undertake work on his own capital, on reasonable terms, and that as Trustees they can not legally consent to being divested of any of their rights without adequate compensation.

Persian advices state that Safi Amba Parshad and Ajit Singh are now living in Shiraz under the protection of Ibrahim Murtazavi and have started a paper called *Hyat* in which the Persians are instigated against the English, Russians and Christians in general. The attempt of the British Consul to get them arrested through the Persian authorities is reported to have been frustrated owing to Murtazavi's attitude.

Paris telegrams state that as a result of an official enquiry into the attempted escape of Savarkar at Marseilles, while being brought to India for his trial on the charge of his complicity in the Nasik outrage, the French Government, in view of the fact that he actually landed on French soil, have requested the

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British Government to suspend the trial till full reports of the case are received. It is further stated that according to international law it may be necessary to bring back Savarkar to France and apply for his extradition.

20. A London telegram states that the Socialist deputy, Jaures, was largely responsible for the French action with regard to the proposed extradition of Savarkar.

The Wesleyan Conference at Bradford passes a resolution appealing to the Government to suppress the opium traffic in India.

Mr. Duval, Additional Magistrate, Howrah, after a protracted enquiry, commits about 50 accused in the Howrah Political Dacoity case to the Special Tribunal of the Calcutta High Court.

21. The U. P. Government publishes a resolution dealing with dairy farming in the province.

The Gaekwar of Baroda pays a ceremonial visit to Lord Morley.

22. The Census Bill is referred to a Select Committee, the Indian Immigration Bill is passed, and the Criminal Tribes Bill is introduced today at a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held at Simla.

The 3rd Provincial Conference of Co-operative Credit Societies in Bengal opens today at Calcutta under the presidency of the Hon. Mr. Slacke and discusses the question of village banks, unions and local finance.

23. The annual report on the cash balances and resource operations of the treasuries for 1909-10 published today shows that the year opened with a very low treasury balance, 3'92 crores less than that of the previous year, but closed with 3'09 crores more, this improvement of 7 crores being attributed to the recovery from the agricultural and trade depressions characterising the year 1908-9.

The Secretary of State has sanctioned the revised estimate for the Dhassan irrigation project in U. P. amounting to Rs. 4,516,227.

Reports published today show that 7,017,076 cwt. of wheat has been exported from the port of Karachi from January 1 to July 18 as compared with 6,472,207 cwt. for the corresponding period of 1909.

24. Returns published today show that the total approximate gross earnings of State and Guaranteed Railways from April 1 to July 9, 1910, show a gain of Rs. 39,79,924 and Rs. 12,71,105, as compared with the corresponding figures for 1909-1910 and 1908-1909 respectively.

A Statement is issued by the Madras Government on the Chincona cultivation in the Southern Presidency.

The review published today by the Madras Board of Revenue of the statements from Collectors showing the allotment and expenditure under the Loans Acts during the two months ending 31st May 1910 shows that the total amount disbursed amounted to Rs. 48,633 or 7'2 p.c. of the allotment.

It is reported today that the Burma Government has sanctioned the order to the effect that river dues in Rangoon will be raised from the 1st of August from 1½ annas to 4 as. per ton of goods.

25. At the Co-operative Credit Conference today, Mr. Buchan, Director of Agriculture, Bengal, says: "We are now enabled to picture Bengal with a village life invigorated, rural credit established, indebtedness a minor evil, agriculture and industry revived. In six years 600 societies have been established, with a capital of 8 lakhs."

A Note on Stamp returns for the N.-W. Frontier Provinces for 1909-10 shows gross receipts of Rs. 5,14,119 being Rs. 34,097 more than the record figures of the previous year.

26. The Indian budget is discussed today in the House of Commons. Mr. Montagu announces the appointment of Mr. Clark as Commerce and Industry Member and the creation of a new Member for education and the appointment of Mr. Butler thereto.

The L.-G. of Bengal publishes a notification prohibiting any demonstration on the next 7th of August, the anniversary day of the boycott movement in Bengal.

27. Mr. Montagu, replying to Mr. Keir Hardie, said : Lord Morley was enquiring into the reported refusal of the Local Government to sanction a resolution of the members of the Lahore Municipality making education free in the Municipality's primary schools.

A meeting to concert measures to perpetuate the memory of the late King Edward in Mysore is held at Bangalore.

Incessant rains at Darjeeling cause the collapse of a certain part of the Bhutia Basti, resulting in the death of 7 men.

The first report of the Simla Municipality since the withdrawal of the elective element from the same, published today for 1909-10, shows a decrease in the attendance of members as compared with previous years and that the income shows a decline of Rs. 11,000 compared with the previous year.

The Annual Resolution on the Administration of the Income-tax in Bengal for 1909-10 published in today's *Gazette* shows a decrease of the revenue by 1 p. c. as compared with an increase of 8.9 p. c. in 1908-09, the net revenue for 1909-10 being Rs. 54,24,798.

The Resolution by the Board of Revenue on the administration of the Stamp Department in Bengal shows the revenue to have amounted to Rs. 1,51,40,941 against Rs. 1,57,29,226 in the preceding year.

The 48th Annual Report of the Government chinchona plantation and factory in Bengal for 1909-10 shows that the sale of Quinine Sulphate rose from 18,585 lbs. 15½ oz., in 1908-9 to 23,899¼ lbs. in 1909-10, the total receipts amounting to Rs. 247,550.

28. Mr. I. M. Shiraji, the alleged author of *Anaṣṭraḥa*, is placed before Mr. Swinhoe, Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta, for trial under Sec. 124 A.

The Quinquennial Review of the Mineral Products of India during the years 1904 to 1908 published today show the increase of production of coal, petroleum, manganese, iron, salt and several other minerals, and the decrease of gold, rubies, graphite and amber.

In reply to a deputation of the International Cotton Federation, urging on Lord Morley the desirability of assisting to the utmost the increase of cotton growing in India and the improvement of quality, Lord Morley, while sympathising with the deputation and promising to lay the facts before the Agricultural Department in India, points out that the Government of India could not develop the cotton industry at the expense of other agricultural products such as wheat, and that the agriculturalists in India were most conservative and it was impossible to coerce them to take to a new industry and points out the enormous increase in cotton production in India during recent years.

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29. A Press communique issued today announces the decision of the Government of India, in view of the unrest in Tibet, to collect supplies on the Tibet Frontier and to admit of the speedy relief of the British Trade Agencies at Gyantse and in Chumbi in case they should be attacked.

4 Indians deported from South Africa and 2 Indians not permitted to land in that country come back and land at Bombay today.

30. A meeting of the General Committee of the All-India Memorial Fund for the late King Emperor is held at the Viceregal Lodge at Simla, with the Viceroy in the Chair.

It is reported today that the Cochin Durbar is throwing open 15,000 acres of land in Sholagar Valley, suitable for para rubber cultivation at a variable price.

An influential meeting of the representatives of the Native States of the Punjab and all districts is held at Lahore, Sir Louis Dane presiding, to consider measures for building a memorial to Edward VII.

31. It is reported today that the drawings of the Secretary of State, excluding sums drawn against paper currency reserve, exceed by £ 157,000, the estimated amount up to date. About £ 9,000,000 remains to be drawn.

The Tendula Irrigation project in C. P. for which the cost of one crore of rupees has been sanctioned is reported to be well in hand and likely to be completed in about 8 years.

The Burma Government announce revised rules for ascertaining and determining what spirit imported into Burma shall be deemed to have been effectually and permanently rendered unfit for human consumption and for causing imported spirit to be so rendered by officers of the Customs Department.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

Dearth of Men for the Police in Rangoon

Great difficulty, it is stated, is now being experienced in obtaining Sikhs for the Rangoon Police. It is difficult to find satisfactory Indian recruits. The Lieutenant-Governor of Burma thinks the main cause is to be found in large areas of the Punjab being thrown to cultivation. Increase of pay to soldiers is another deterrent.

Temperate Khonds

The Khonds, an aboriginal tribe in Bengal, requested the local authorities not to grant license to any liquor shops near about them. The Lieutenant-Governor accordingly decided to close outstills for selling country liquor in the Khond Mahals in Orissa, of which 25 were originally licensed for the current year.

A Medical College at Lucknow

The Secretary of State has sanctioned the construction of a Medical College and Hospital at Lucknow. The estimated cost is Rs. 3,269,950. The foundation-stone was laid by the present King-Emperor in December, 1905. The complete work will now be put in hand. The site for the hospital and other buildings has been admirably chosen.

A Gold Girdle

An enormous gold salwe, or girdle, weighing 18 viss and valued at Rs. 65,500, is to be put on the image of Buddha which is enshrined at the Arakan pagoda. The girdle has a large white sapphire in the centre, a pendant of gold and jade, two medallions studded with rubies, jade sapphires and diamonds, and two pairs of "nadaungs" set with precious stones. And this in the 20th century !

Anglo-Japanese Alliance

The Indian factor necessarily played a very large part, says the *Times* (London), in the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which was to an appreciable degree dominated on the British side by considerations affecting the defence of India. Those considerations are not so vital since the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian Agreement, which may itself be regarded as an indirect result of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, but they have not entirely disappeared.

Prohibition of Slaughter of Cows by a Nawab

The late Nawab of Radhanpore, a Mahomedan ruler, had prohibited slaughter of cows in his State. The result was that the number of cows which in 1906 was 10,566 has now increased to 17,137. Mahomedans of Radhanpore have now memorialized to the Bombay Government protesting against the late Nawab's order, alleging that His Highness was not in a sound state of mind when the order was issued, as it was against the tenets of Islam.

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Pension to the Widows of Assassinated Anglo-Indians

Mrs. Jackson, the widow of the murdered Collector of Nasik, has been granted a pension of £490 per year with £200 annually for the late Collector's mother. Among the widows of assassinated Anglo-Indians are the Dowager Countess of Mayo, relict of the Viceroy Mayo who was murdered in the Andamans in 1872. Her ladyship was given a lump sum of £20,000 by the Indian Government and £1000 a year for life. The widow of Sir Louis Cavagnari, who was assassinated in Kabul in 1879 while leading a Mission to the Ameer, received a pension of £500 per annum and was granted a residence in Hampton Court Palace for life. Both these ladies are still living and have drawn their pensions for over thirty years.

Causes of Beri Beri

The accuracy of the theory, generally known as the American theory, that Beri Beri is due to the removal of the phosphatic layer in rice caused by over-milling it, in order to give it its popular whiteness of colour, is being questioned in certain medical quarters. The critics point out that in greater part of Bengal, rice is so prepared by the merchants as to be without the phosphatic layer and even in the case of the rice that possesses traces of it, even after being milled, the method of cooking it entirely removes it. They prefer the theory that the disease is due to a fungus on the rice grains. In support of this they point out that families eating rice stored in damp go-downs suffer from Beri-Beri, especially during the rainy season. The practice of mixing lime with rice, adopted by the Calcutta rice merchants, also removes the possibility of any phosphates remaining.

Malaria in the United Provinces

The birth rate in the United Provinces during last year was 33·32 against 41·35, the quinquennial average, while the figures as to death rate were 37·34 and 42·79, respectively. The fall in the death rate, according to the Sanitary Commissioner, was due to a healthy year following one in which malaria played terrible havoc. The decrease in the birth rate is unquestionably due to the same cause. The type of malarial fever that prevailed during 1909 was amenable to treatment by quinine and relapses were infrequent. On the other hand, hospital statistics reveal a particularly bad situation, as the following will show :

1904	...	...	...	649,933
1905	...	...	...	574,475
1906	...	...	...	681,026
1907	...	...	...	598,109
1908	...	...	...	1,369,583
1909	...	...	...	1,492,487

A Curious Story

The following story, taken from a Purulia paper, has the true flavour of the immortal Arabian Nights : "A child was born to a Brahmin in village Shapur six months ago, and since the very date of birth a serpent has been a constant attendant on the babe. One day the reptile was caught and thrown in the river. At night the Brahmin heard the serpent say to him in a dream : ' If you kill me,

I shall completely destroy your family. If you do not, I shall not harm you, but, on the contrary, do you good.' Since this oracle from the serpent, the Brahmin and the members of his family have let it alone. When the child is on the ground asleep or awake, the serpent spreads its hood over its head like an umbrella. When the child is on the bed the reptile quietly lays itself down under the cot. Once the child's mother took the child to the house of a relation living close by. The father was following her with an umbrella under his arm. On opening the umbrella he saw that the serpent was inside it. He threw it away. But it forthwith returned to his house. The serpent is still there. The Brahmin gives milk twice a day, which the reptile drinks."

Free Primary Education

The correspondence between Local Governments and the Government of India on the subject of free primary education in India, which has been published as a Blue Book, is disappointing. In the first place the correspondence is rather ancient history, the conditions of the present day being not those of the days of Sir Andrew Fraser. We are now a great deal in advance of the administrative traditions of even four years ago and Indian problems, educational and other, have to be viewed in a light other than that which prevailed in official circles before the Reform Scheme came into operation. The weight of official opinion is against a system of free primary education, a result which we cannot but regard as unfortunate. A few of the Local Governments are lukewarm in the matter, more are antagonistic, and none enthusiastic. The Government of Madras preserves a noncommittal attitude but is prepared to contribute to free education if the Imperial Government will assist. The Governments of Bengal and Eastern Bengal take place among the dubious ones. Sir Edward Baker is personally against the scheme, while Sir Laucelot Hare admits that experts are not unanimous on the subject. The Governments of the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Bombay and Burma are pronouncedly hostile, Sir John Hewett having thrown in the weight of his great experience of India as Home Secretary and Lieutenant-Governor against the idea of the abolition of fees in primary schools. The question seems to have been decided on the ground that there can be no free education where there is no compulsory education and that free primary education would not be appreciated by the masses.

Buddhistic Relics

Huvishka, of the line of Kanishka, was a great patron of Buddhism. A Buddhist convent at Mathura (Muttra), which once occupied the site of the Kachahri, was founded by him and bore his name. Under his patronage, the Buddhist school of sculpture, which flourished at Mathura, reached its zenith. The reign of Vasudeva, the last of the great Kushan kings, marks a decline in art. From his name it may be assumed that by this time, the Indo-Scythian rulers had become thoroughly Hinduised. The latest known inscription of Kanishka is dated in the year 10, the earliest of Huvishka in the year 33. Notwithstanding the intermediate gap of several years, it has been generally supposed that Huvishka was the immediate successor of

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Kanishka. An inscription which quite recently has come to light at Mathura proves this view to be erroneous. It supplies the name of a new king of the name of Vasishka who evidently belonged to the Kushan dynasty and whose reign must have intervened between those of Kanishka and Huvishka. For the record is dated in the year 24. The discovery of this important record is due to Pandit Radha Krishna who, as Honorary Assistant Curator of the Mathura Museum, has enriched the collection in his charge with numerous sculptures and inscriptions. The record in question is engraved on a stone pillar, more than 19 feet high, which the Pandit discovered in the village of Isapur of Hans Ganj on the left bank of the Jumna opposite the city of Mathura. The place was named after Mirza Isa Tarakhan, Governor of Mathura, in the first year of Shah Jahan's reign. As appears from the inscription, the pillar served the purpose of a sacrificial post (Sanskrit *jupa*) and was set up by a Brahmin of the Bharadvaja gotra named Dronala, the son of Rudrila, while performing a sacrifice of twelve days. Whereas nearly all the inscriptions hereto found at Mathura are either Buddhist or Jain, the present epigraph is of interest as being Brahmanical and composed in pure Sanskrit. It is one of the earliest epigraphical records in that language known to exist. For it should be remembered that the earliest Indian inscriptions, *e. g.*, those of Asoka, are written in the local dialects known as Prakrit. The inscribed pillar has now been removed to the Mathura Museum through the care of Pandit Radha Krishna.

Japan and India

No review of the relations between Japan and Great Britain can afford to exclude a brief examination of the effect of Japanese expansion upon the oversea Dominions of the British Empire. Japan has come into intimate contact with India, Australia, and Canada in the last two decades, and the full effect of her growing interests in these directions is not yet visible. The indirect relations between Japan and India are almost as old as recorded history. Professor Chamberlain says :—"In a sense Japan may be said to owe everything to India, for from India came Buddhism, and Buddhism brought civilization—Chinese civilization, but then China had been far more deeply tinged with the Indian dye than is generally admitted." After many centuries the process has been reversed, says the *Times*, and the revolution of modern Japan has exercised an extraordinary and not always wholesome influence upon Indian thought. Even before the war, Indians had begun to turn their eyes towards Japan. When Professor Sharp went to Japan at the time of the war to study Japanese education for the benefit of the Indian Government he found a number of Indian students and, oddly enough, several Nepalese. The victories of Japan over Russia aroused intense excitement in India, particularly among the imaginative Bengalis, and they were undoubtedly a contributory cause of the ensuing unrest. When the battle of Liao-yang was fought, a prominent Indian prince said significantly to a political officer :—"It is you English who will have to pay for this." Indian politicians have never realized, or if they have done so they successfully conceal, the fundamental differences between the Indian peoples and the Japanese. Indians do not possess the community of race and creed and thought, the instinct of self-sacrifice, the devotion to country, which are among the

secrets of Japanese success. To some extent the triumphs of Japan have been a stimulus to India, but their principal effect has been to foster vague aspirations which Indians are still incapable of carrying into their lives.

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

Mineral Production of India

The Quinquennial Review of the Mineral Production of India during the years 1904 to 1908, by Sir Thomas Holland, K. C. I. E., and Mr. Leigh Fermor, publishes the following table which shows the total value of Minerals for which Returns of Production are available for the years 1904 to 1908 :

Minerals.		1903.	1908.	Average 1904-1908.
		£	£	£
Gold	...	2,302,493	2,177,847	2,266,307
Coal	...	1,299,716	3,356,209	2,139,219
Manganese ore	...	188,509	517,166	631,760
Petroleum	...	354,365	702,009	592,887
Salt	...	336,147	522,794	451,339
Saltpetre	...	288,487	292,758	268,012
Mica	...	86,277	139,513	170,126
Ruby, Sapphire and Spinel	...	98,575	47,954	84,406
Jadestone	...	47,676	74,402	61,353
Graphite	...	16,970	14,365	12,879
Iron-ore	...	14,963	15,149	13,769
Tin-ore	...	9,153	11,015	10,992
Chromite	...	327	6,338	9,110
Diamonds	...	2,579	940	2,799
Magnesite	...	550	2,009	681
Amber	...	414	364	648
Total	...	5,047,201	7,880,832	6,716,325

Industries in Behar

The people of Behar made a record progress in new industries during recent years. A successful experiment has been made in fruit-canning in Mozafferpore. Great improvement has been made in the methods of manufacturing buttons in Behar. Ebon work from Monghyr continues to maintain its standard of excellence. Carpet industry also is in a flourishing condition. For the first time articles made of German silver were manufactured in Patna city, and considerable progress has been made in the manufacture of cutlery in Patna and Muzafferpore. The competition between two iron factories at Patna and Dinapore has given a stimulus to iron manufacturing industry.

Patents in India

The total number of applications for patents in India in 1909 was 615, or 64 more than in 1908. Of these, 47 were refused or abandoned, and 117 were undecided at the end of the year. Only

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63 of the applications were made by natives of India, 135 were made by Europeans and others resident in India, while 417 came from outside India, of which 217 were from the United Kingdom. The range of inventions for which protection was sought was, as usual, very wide, and, as in previous years, those relating to railways, electrical contrivances, chemical appliances and preparations, and textile industries predominated. Applications for the registration of designs numbered 51, of which 37 were allowed.

Date Cultivation in the Punjab

The sanction of Government has been obtained to the employment of an experienced date-grower from Bassorah for 3 years with a view to the introduction of improved methods of date cultivation in the south-west Punjab. At the same time, suckers of the best Persian Gulf varieties will be imported and planted in the Multan and Muzaffargarh districts, at the Multan Central Jail, and in the Muzaffargarh District Board garden. The best varieties obtainable locally will also be collected in those gardens. Enquiries made last autumn show that there are some distinctly superior qualities in private gardens. But these appear to be jealously guarded. The climate of the south-west Punjab, with a very light monsoon rainfall of $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 inches, is very suitable for date cultivation, but, as a rule, although the date crop is of great economic value to the tract, forming the main food of the people for a season, the date trees are allowed to grow absolutely wild. With care in planting good varieties, in propagating from suckers instead of from seeds, in fertilising the flowers of the female plants artificially, in general cultivation and in preserving the fruits, it should be possible to greatly improve the quality of the produce and to make the date crop a very valuable asset to the Province.

The Manganese Industry

The Indian manganese industry, in which a good deal of capital is invested, more particularly perhaps in Southern India, is doing fairly well just now, and may do a great deal better a little later on as the iron and steel trades, in which manganese is largely used, expands still further, as it promises to do at an early date. During the past month, according to the *Pioneer*, India shipped 1,184,045 cwts of manganese valued at Rs. 8,49,854—not at all a bad month's turn-over, all things considered. At present we have only five customers for the produce of our manganese mines, and to these we sent the following quantities during May: United Kingdom, 433,020 cwts.; United States, 397,600; Belgium, 236,000; France, 93,425 and Holland 24,000 cwts. Bombay still holds the lead in this trade and last month shipped 722,620 cwts. against 323,000 cwts. from Madras and 138,423 cwts. from Bengal. These figures show that Madras has greatly improved her position, which means, of course, that her manganese mines have been coming in for a fresh spell of activity.

Joint Stock Companies in India

Reviewing the normal and material progress and condition of India during 1908-9, the India Office states that there were 289 new companies registered in India under the Companies Act

during the year, with a paid-up capital of about £462,000, while 151, with a capital of £509,000, ceased to work. The aggregate paid-up capital of 695 companies was increased by £4,625,000, whilst 86 companies reduced their paid-up capital by £73,000. The net result was that at the end of the year there were in operation 2,061 companies, with a paid-up capital of £33,876,000. There has been an increase of 57 per cent. in the paid-up capital during the last ten years. The companies are most important in the Provinces of Bengal and Bombay, which possess 40 and 38 per cent. respectively of all the paid-up capital, whilst the share of Madras, which comes next, was less than 9 per cent. of the whole. The average of paid-up capital is highest in Bengal, where it amounts to £26,600, while in Bombay it is £25,800. The distribution of paid-up capital among registered companies of the different classes was as follows :—

Banking, loan and insurance	...	...	£4,595,000
Trading and shipping	...	...	6,694,000
Mining and quarrying	...	...	2,826,000
Mills and presses	...	...	15,667,000
Tea and planting	...	...	2,404,000
Other industries	...	...	1,690,000

These figures represent share capital only, but in addition there are debentures issued amounting to £4,567,000. Nearly a third of the capital of trading companies is invested in railways and tramways. The capital invested in coal companies has more than doubled in the last ten years. There are so far as is known, 227 companies which carry on work with sterling capital exclusively, or almost exclusively, in India, but which are registered elsewhere and their paid-up capital amounts to £73,872,404, besides £37,862,898 debentures. The railways represent £42,657,510 paid-up capital and £34,040,600 debentures. Of the rest, the sterling share capital invested in the tea industry is £13,495,600, in jute mills £2,308,900, in cotton mills £798,500, in rice mills £852,000 and in goldfields £2,744,000. Thus, while the railway, gold and tea concerns are nearly financed from abroad, the great bulk of the mill and press companies are registered in India.

Improvements in Indian Agriculture

There is some useful information to be gleaned from the annual report of the India Office, concerning the work of the agricultural departments and colleges of the Provinces. In the Punjab, we read, agricultural machinery is growing in popularity in consequence of a labour scarcity, and one commercial firm has introduced itself conveniently into the trade by relieving the local department of the work of distributing mechanical reapers and certain other implements. A Glasgow firm, we understand, has produced a reaper, under the instructions of a Government officer, which should be a general favourite with farmers in the Punjab. Progress in scientific well-boring is also noticeable in this part of India, thanks to the guidance of the Agricultural Department. In the Central Provinces and Berar much attention has been paid to the demonstration of improved implements, and certain simpler descriptions, especially turnwrest ploughs, corn-shellers, winnowers, and chain pumps, are gradually obtaining a sale. Leaflets were issued on the

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use of turnwrest ploughs, on the cultivation of cotton and ground-nuts, and on cattle diseases. The satisfactory increase in the number of oil engines and pumps used for irrigation in Madras is credited to the efforts of the local officers. A great demand for well-boring appliances is also reported from Madras. The new mechanical and engineering branch of the Bombay Agricultural Department was chiefly engaged last year with well-boring in Gujerat, and with trials of oil engines for water-lifting and cane crushing in the Deccan.

Jute in Bengal

The most valuable product so far as India's oversea trade is concerned is jute. In 1908-9, raw jute the equivalent of £13,233,037 in value was exported, whilst jute goods—cloth, bags, rope, twine, etc.—worth £10,482,046 were also shipped from Bengal. These totals united compare very favourably with the figures of some of Great Britain's leading exports, and quite eclipse anything that the British Colonies can show for a single agricultural product. The jute mills are concentrated in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. Their prosperity, until quite recently, has been uninterrupted and their growth phenomenal. During the last twenty years the total number of looms have increased from about 10,000 to close upon 50,000. So long as the world's demands for gunnies have continued to expand, so long have the Calcutta mills flourished amazingly. Now, alas, production has overtaken consumption, and as prices of the manufactured goods are now at a point that leaves practically no profit, the outlook is the reverse of bright. Production during the year is generally curtailed owing to insufficient labour, but, when the villagers return from their fields, the possibilities of output will be greater than ever. No surprise can be felt that an arrangement for working short time has been arrived at by the various mill interests. It is understood that short-time working will extend from September 1st to the following March 31st.

Co-operative Credit Societies

A resolution by the Revenue and Agriculture Department, dealing with the progress made by co-operative credit societies, gives some encouraging particulars. The resolution sets forth the statistics for the years 1906-07, 1907-08, and 1908-09, showing that the number of societies in the three years has risen from 843 with 90,844 members, to 2,008 with 184,889 members. The capital in the same period has increased from £160,000 to about £540,000; while the figures for expenditure, which, it should be said, covers loans repaid to private persons, loans issued to members, the purchase of raw material and stores and profits, show an increase of from close on £200,000 to well over £560,000 the profits rising from about £6,500 to over £20,000. The resolution proceeds: "The expansion of business indicated by these figures is remarkable, but the reports from many provinces show that even more striking results would have been attained if the registrars had been able to deal with all the applications for registration received. In Madras more than 300 applications were pending disposal at the end of the year and the registrar of Burma reports that though the number of societies had more than doubled during the year, many applications could not be dealt with, and

the number of applications would have been even greater had they not been discouraged. Other provinces have experienced the same difficulty, and the future of the movement is still dependent upon the successful solution of the two connected problems of finance and supervision. As regards the former, considerable progress was made during the year, though the aggregate capital of the societies increased largely. The amount of State aid remained almost stationary, and now represents only one-twelfth of the capital.

The Jubilee of Cinchona Culture in India

In the beginning of February 1860 cinchona-seeds were first brought from South America and sown in Southern India. The public benefactor who was instrumental in this was Sir Clements R. Markham, who solved the problem of acclimatisation by going personally to Peru and Bolivia to select cinchona plants and seeds, "enduring hornet stings and braving jaguars and snakes." So long as quinine salts were derivable almost entirely from cinchona bark produced in the plantations of the western hemisphere, prices ruled at figures which drained the pockets of the poor, inconvenienced controllers of medical institutions, and induced adulteration of a most pernicious nature. Frequently during the sixties the price of sulphate of quinine bordered on 20s. an ounce, and the purchasing public had to pay at a far higher rate for small quantities. But the enterprise of Sir Clements R. Markham and his helpers has subsequently so reduced the market price of this article that cinchona bark has frequently been at less than a fortieth of its price of fifty years ago. In his recent report on the trade and commerce of Java for 1909, Mr. Consul J. W. Stewart states, for example, that the average prices of sulphate of quinine sold at Batavia during 1907, 1908, and 1909 were respectively 6¼d., 6½d., and 5¾d., per ounce. From a statement forwarded by the Board of Revenue, Madras, to the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence, regarding the cultivation of cinchona last year, the *Madras Mail* learns that 2,292,86 mature and 708,770 immature cinchona trees were growing on 1,148 acres on the Government's Nilgiri Plantations, and that the yield of bark therefrom amounted to 255,371 lbs. There were also some 521,320 mature and 157,220 immature cinchona trees growing over 555 acres on private plantations in the Coimbatore, Malabar and Nilgiri Districts, which yielded 295,000 lbs. of bark. In the Travancore State 588,302 mature and 160,485 immature trees were growing over 672½ acres and the yield therefrom amounted to 40,100 lbs.

SELECTIONS

MR. VALENTINE CHIROL AGAIN

INDIAN UNREST

I. *A General Survey*

That there is a lull in the storm of unrest which has lately swept over India is happily beyond doubt. Does this lull indicate a gradual and steady return to more normal and peaceful conditions? Or, as in other cyclonic disturbances in tropical climes, does it merely presage fiercer outbursts yet to come? Has the blended policy of repression and concession adopted by Lord Morley and Lord Minto really cowed the forces of criminal disorder and rallied the representatives of moderate opinion to the cause of sober and constitutional progress? Or has it come too late either permanently to arrest the former or to restore confidence and courage to the latter?

These are the two questions which the present situation in India most frequently and obviously suggests, but it may be doubted whether they by any means cover the whole field of potential developments. They are based apparently upon the assumption that Indian unrest, even in its most extreme forms, is merely the expression of certain political aspirations towards various degrees of emancipation from British tutelage, ranging from a larger share in the present system of administration to a complete revolution in the existing relations between Great Britain and India, and that the issues thus raised being essentially political, they can be met by compromise on purely political lines. This assumption ignores, I fear, certain factors of very great importance, social, religious, and economic, which profoundly affect, if they do not altogether overshadow, the political problem. The question to which I propose to address myself in these articles is whether Indian unrest represents merely, as we are prone to imagine, the human and not unnatural impatience of subject races fretting under an alien rule which, however well intentioned, must often be irksome and must sometimes appear to be harsh and arbitrary; or whether to-day, in its more extreme forms at any rate, it does not represent an irreconcilable reaction against all that not only British rule but Western civilization stands for.

CONTRIBUTORY CAUSES

I will not stop at present to discuss how far the lamentable deficiencies of the system of education which we have ourselves introduced into India have contributed to the Indian unrest. That that system has been productive of much good few will deny, but few also can be so blind as to ignore the fact that it tends on the one hand to create a semi-educated proletariat, unemployed and largely unemployable, and on the other hand, even where failure is less complete, to produce dangerous hybrids, more or less superficially imbued with Western ideas, and at the same time more or less completely divorced from the realities of Indian life. Many other circumstances also which have helped the promoters of

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disaffection I must reserve for subsequent discussion. Some of them are economic, such as the remarkable rise in prices during the last decade. This has seriously enhanced the cost of living in India and has specially affected the very classes amongst whom disaffection is most widespread. The clerk, the teacher, the petty Government official, whose exiguous salaries have remained the same, find themselves to-day relatively, and in many cases actually, worse off than the artisan or even the labourer, whose wages have in many cases risen in proportion to the increased cost of living. Plague, which in the course of the last 14 years has carried off over 5,000,000 people, and two terrible visitations of famine have caused in different parts of the country untold misery and consequent bitterness. On the other hand, the growth of commerce and industry and the growing interest taken by all classes in commercial and industrial questions have led to a corresponding resentment of the fiscal restraints placed upon India by the Imperial Government for the selfish benefit, as it is contended, of the British manufacturer and trader. Much bad blood has undoubtedly been created by the treatment of British Indians in South Africa and the attitude adopted in British colonies generally towards Asiatic immigrants. The social relations between the two races in India itself—always a problem of infinite difficulty—have certainly not been improved by the large influx of a lower class of Europeans which the development of railways and telegraphs and other industries requiring technical knowledge have brought in their train. Nor can it be denied that the growing pressure of office work as well as the increased facilities of home leave and frequent transfers from one post to another have inevitably to some extent lessened the contact between the Anglo-Indian official and the native population. Of more remote influences which have indirectly reacted upon the Indian mind, it may suffice for the present to mention the South African War, which lowered the prestige of our arms, and the Russo-Japanese War, which was regarded as the first blow dealt to the ascendancy of Europe over Asia. Each of the above points has its own importance and deserves to be closely studied, for upon the way in which we shall in the future handle some of the delicate questions which they raise will largely depend our failure or our success in coping with Indian unrest—that is, in preventing its invasion of other classes than those to which it has been hitherto confined. But the clue to the real spirit which informs Indian unrest must be sought elsewhere.

TWO COMMON MISCONCEPTIONS

Two misconceptions appear to prevail very widely at home with regard to the nature of the unrest. The first is that disaffection of a virulent and articulate character is a new phenomenon in India ; the second is that the existing disaffection represents a genuine, if precocious and misdirected, response on the part of the Eastern educated classes to the democratic ideals of the modern Western world which our system of education has imparted into India. It is easy to account for the prevalence of both these misconceptions. We are a people of notoriously short memory, and when a series of sensational and dastardly crimes, following on a tumultuous agitation in Bengal and a campaign of incredible violence in the Press, at last aroused and alarmed the British public, the vast

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majority of Englishmen were under the impression that since the black days of the Mutiny law and order had never been seriously assailed in India, and they therefore rushed to the conclusion that, if the *pax Britannica* had been so rudely and suddenly shaken, the only possible explanation lay in some novel wave of sentiment or some grievous administrative blunder which had abruptly disturbed the harmonious relations between the rulers and the ruled. People had forgotten that disaffection in varying forms and degrees of intensity has existed at all times amongst certain sections of the population, and under the conditions of our rule can hardly be expected to disappear altogether. Whether British statesmanship has always sufficiently reckoned with its existence is another question. More than 30 years ago, for instance, the Government of India had to pass a Bill dealing with the aggressive violence of the vernacular Press on precisely the same grounds that were alleged in support of this year's Press Bill, and with scarcely less justification, whilst just 13 years ago two British officials fell victims at Poona to a murderous conspiracy, prompted by a campaign of criminal virulence in the Press, closely resembling those which have more recently robbed India of many valuable lives.

To imagine that Indian unrest has been a sudden growth because its outward manifestations have assumed new and startling forms of violence is a dangerous delusion ; and no less misleading is the assumption that it is merely the outcome of Western education or the echo of Western democratic aspirations because it occasionally, and chiefly for purposes of political expediency, adopts the language of Western demagogues. Whatever its modes of expression, its mainspring is a deep-rooted antagonism to all the principles upon which Western society, especially in a democratic country like England, has been built up. It is in that antagonism—in the increasing violence of that antagonism—which is a conspicuous feature of the unrest, that the gravest danger lies.

THE STRENGTH OF OUR POSITION

But if in this respect the problems with which we are confronted appear to me more serious and complex than official optimism is sometimes disposed to admit, I have no hesitation in saying that there is no cause for despondency if we will only realize how strong our position in India still is, and use our strength wisely and sympathetically, but, at the same time, with firmness and consistency. It is important to note at the outset that the more dangerous forms of unrest are practically confined to the Hindus and amongst them to a numerically small proportion of the vast Hindu community. Not a single Mahomedan has been implicated in, though some have fallen victims to, the criminal conspiracies of the last few years. Not a single Mahomedan of any account is to be found in the ranks of disaffected politicians. For reasons, in fact, which I shall set forth later on, it may be confidently asserted that never before have the Mahomedans of India as a whole identified their interests and their aspirations so closely as at the present day with the consolidation and permanence of British rule. It is almost a misnomer to speak of Indian unrest ; Hindu unrest would be a far more accurate term, connoting with far greater precision the forces underlying it, though to use it without reservation would be to do a grave injustice to the vast numbers of Hindus who are as yet untainted with disaffection.

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These include all or almost all the Hindu ruling chiefs and landed aristocracy, as well as the great mass of the agricultural classes which form in all parts of India the overwhelming majority of the population. Very large areas, moreover, are still entirely free from unrest, which, except for a few sporadic outbreaks in other districts, has been hitherto mainly confined to three distinct areas—the Mahratta Deccan, which comprises a great part of the Bombay Presidency and several districts of the Central Provinces, Bengal, with the new province of Eastern Bengal, and the Punjab. In those regions it is the large cities that have been the real hot-beds of unrest, and, great as is their influence, it must not be forgotten that in India scarcely one-tenth of the population lives in cities or even in small townships, and villages with more than 5,000 inhabitants. Whereas in England one-third of the population is gathered together in crowded cities of 100,000 inhabitants and over, there are but twenty-eight cities of that size in the whole of India, with an aggregate population of less than 7,000,000 out of a total of almost 300,000,000.

THE MAINSPRINGS OF DISAFFECTION

That a movement confined to a mere fraction of the population of India has no title to be called a "national" movement would scarcely need to be argued, even if the variegated jumble of races and peoples, castes and creeds that make up the population of India were not in itself an antithesis to all that the word "national" implies. Nevertheless it would be equally foolish to undertake the forces which underlies this movement, for they have one common *nexus*, and a very vital one. They are the dominant forces of Hinduism—forces which go to the very root of a social and religious system than which none in the history of the human race has shown greater vitality and stability. Based upon caste, the most rigid of all social classifications, Hinduism has secured for some 3,000 years or more to the higher castes, and especially to the Brahmans, the highest of all castes, a social supremacy for which there is no parallel elsewhere. At the same time, inflexibly as they have dominated Hinduism, these higher castes have themselves preserved a flexibility of mind and temper which has enabled them to adapt themselves with singular success to the vicissitudes of changing times without any substantial sacrifice of their inherited traditions and aspirations. Thus it is amongst high-caste Hindus that for the last three-quarters of a century English education has chiefly spread, and, indeed, been most eagerly welcomed; it is amongst them that British administration has recruited the great majority of its native servants in every branch of the public service; it is amongst them also that are chiefly recruited the liberal professions, the Press, the school-masters—in fact all those agencies through which public opinion and the mind of the rising generation are most easily moulded and directed. That it is amongst them also that the spirit of revolt against British ascendancy is chiefly and almost exclusively rife constitutes the most ominous feature of Indian unrest.

II. *A Political Common Denominator*

Before proceeding to describe the methods by which Indian unrest has been fomented and to study as far as possible its

psychology, it may be well to set forth succinctly the political purpose to which it is directed, as far as there is any unity of direction. One of the chief difficulties one encounters in attempting to define its aims is the vagueness that generally characterizes the pronouncements of Indian politicians. There is, indeed, one section that makes no disguise either of its aspirations or of the way in which it proposes to secure their fulfilment. Its doctrines are frankly revolutionary, and it openly preaches propaganda by deed—*i.e.*, by armed revolt, if and when it becomes practicable, and, in the meantime, by assassination, dynamite outrages, dacoities, and all the other methods of terrorism dear to anarchists all over the world. But that section is not very numerous, nor would it in itself be very dangerous, if it did not exercise so fatal a fascination upon the immature mind of youth. The real difficulty begins when one comes to that much larger section of "advanced" politicians who are scarcely less bitterly opposed to the maintenance of British rule, but, either from prudential motives or lest they should prematurely alarm and alienate the representatives of what is called "moderate" opinion, shrink from the violent assertion of India's claim to complete political independence and, whilst helping to create the atmosphere that breeds outrages, profess to deprecate them.

The difficulty is further enhanced by the reluctance of many of the "moderates" to break with their "advanced" friends by proclaiming, once and for all, their own conviction that within no measurable time can India in her own interests afford to forgo the guarantees of internal peace and order and external security which the British Raj alone can afford. Hence the desire on both sides to find some common denominator in a nebulous formula which each can interpret as to time and manner according to its own desires and aims. That formula seems to have been discovered in Colonial self-government for India, and it offers the additional advantage of presenting the political aspirations of Indian "Nationalism" in the form least likely to alarm Englishmen, especially those who do not care or wish to look below the surface and whose sympathies are readily won by any catchword that appeals to sentimental Liberalism.

WHAT COLONIAL SELF-GOVERNMENT MEANS

If Colonial self-government represents the *minimum* that would satisfy the promoters of Indian unrest, it is important to know exactly what in their view it really means. Fortunately on this point we have some *data* of indisputable authority. They are furnished in the speeches of an "advanced" leader, who certainly does not rank amongst the revolutionary extremists and who has never, I believe, advocated methods of violence, though, as a journalist, the seditious tendency of his writings brought him in 1907 within the scope of the Indian Criminal Code. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, a high-caste Hindu and a man of great intellectual force and high character, has not only received a Western education, but has travelled a great deal in Europe and in America, and is almost as much at home in London as in Calcutta. A little more than two years ago he delivered in Madras a series of lectures on the New Spirit, which have been republished in many editions and may be regarded as the most authoritative programme of

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"advanced" political thought in India. What adds greatly to the significance of those speeches is that Mr. Pal borrowed their keynote from the Presidential address delivered in the preceding year by the veteran leader of the "moderates," Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, at the annual Session of the Indian National Congress. The rights of India, Mr. Naoroji had said, "can be comprised in one word—self-government or *Swaraj*, like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies." It was reserved for Mr. Pal to define precisely how such *Swaraj* could be peacefully obtained, and what it must ultimately lead to. He began by brushing away the notion that any political concessions compatible with the present dependency of India upon Great Britain could help India to *Swaraj*. I will quote his own words, which already foreshadowed the contemptuous reception given by "advanced" politicians to the reforms embodied in last year's Indian Councils Act :—

"You may get a High Court judgeship here, membership of the Legislative Council there, possibly an Executive Membership of the Council. Or do you want an expansion of the Legislative Councils? Do you want that a few Indians shall sit as your representatives in the House of Commons? Do you want a large number of Indians in the Civil Service? Let us see whether 50, 100, 200, or 300 civilians will make the Government our own. . . . The whole Civil Service might be Indian, but the Civil servants have to carry out orders—they cannot direct, they cannot dictate the policy. One swallow does not make the summer. One civilian, 100 or 1,000 civilians in the service of the British Government, will not make that Government Indian. There are traditions, there are laws, there are policies to which every civilian, be he black or brown or white, must submit, and as long as these traditions have not been altered, as long as these principles have not been amended, as long as that policy has not been radically changed, the supplanting of European by Indian agency will not make for self-government in this country."

Nor is it from the British Government that Mr. Pal hopes for *Swaraj* :—

"If the Government were to come and tell me to-day "Take *Swaraj*," I would say thank you for the gift, but I will not have that which I cannot acquire by my own hand. . . . Our programme is that we shall so work in the country, so combine the resources of the people, so organize the forces of the nation, so develop the instincts of freedom in the community, that by this means we shall—*shall* in the imperative—compel the submission to our will of any power that may set itself against us."

HOW "SWARAJ" IS TO BE OBTAINED

Equally definite is Mr. Pal as to the methods by which *Swaraj* is to be made "imperative." They consist of *Swadeshi* in the economic domain, *i.e.*, the encouragement of native industries reinforced by the boycott of imported goods which will kill British commerce, and, in the political domain, passive resistance reinforced by the boycott of Government service.

"They say :—Can you boycott all the Government offices? Whoever said that we would? Whoever said that there would not be found a single Indian to serve the Government or the European community here? But what we can do is this. We can make the

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Government impossible without entirely making it impossible for them to find people to serve them. The administration may be made impossible in a variety of ways. It is not actually that every deputy magistrate should say : I won't serve in it. It is not that when one man resigns nobody will be found to take his place. But if you create this spirit in the country the Government service will gradually imbibe this spirit, and a whole office may go on strike. That does not put an end to the administration, but it creates endless complications in the work of administration, and if these complications are created in every part of the country the administration will have been brought to a deadlock and made none the less impossible, for the primary thing is the prestige of the Government, and the boycott strikes at the root of that prestige. . . . We can reduce every Indian in Government service to the position of a man who has fallen from the dignity of Indian citizenship. . . . No man shall receive social honours because he is a Hakim or a Munsiff or a Huzur Sheristadar. . . . No law can compel one to give a chair to a man who comes to his house. He may give it to an ordinary shopkeeper ; he may refuse it to the Deputy Magistrate or the subordinate Judge. He may give his daughter in marriage to a poor beggar, he may refuse her to the son of a Deputy Magistrate, because it is absolutely within legal bounds."

"Passive resistance is recognized as legitimate in England. It is legitimate in theory even in India, and if it is made illegal by new legislation, these laws will infringe on the primary rights of personal freedom and will tread on dangerous grounds. Therefore it seems to me that by means of the boycott we shall be able to do the negative work that will have to be done for the attainment of *Swaraj*. Positive work will have to be done. Without positive training no self-government will come to the boycotter. It will (come) through the organization of our village life ; of our talukas and districts. Let our programme include the setting up of machinery for popular administration, and running parallel to, but independent of, the existing administration of the Government. . . . In the Providence of God we shall then be made rulers over many things. This is our programme."

"SWARAJ" AND BRITISH OVER-LORDSHIP

But Mr. Pal himself admits that even if this programme can be fulfilled, this *Swaraj*, this absolute autonomy which he asks for, is fundamentally incompatible with the maintenance of the British connexion. (Here follows a long extract from one of Mr. Pal's speeches.)

I have quoted Mr. Pal's utterances at some length, because they are the fullest and the most frank exposition available of what lies beneath the claim to colonial self-government as it is understood by "advanced" politicians. Few "Moderate" politicians have openly repudiated it, though many of them realize its dangers, whilst the Extremists want a much shorter cut to the same goal. It may therefore be regarded as the mean term of Indian unrest in its political aspects.

III. The Press

I have shown in the preceding article from the speeches of one of the most distinguished leaders of the "advanced" party how the question of self-government presents itself to the mind of a highly

educated Hindu. However incompatible with the maintenance of British rule may be the propositions set forth by Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, they contain no incitement to violence, no virulent diatribes against Englishmen. As a journalist he has not always shown the same moderation, and it is in the Press rather than on the platform that Indian politicians, whether "extreme" or merely "advanced," are apt to let themselves go. They write down to the level of their larger audiences. So little has hitherto been done to enlighten public opinion at home as to the gravity of the evil which the recent Indian Press law has at last, though very tardily, done something to repress that many Englishmen are still apparently disposed to regard that measure as an oppressive, or at least dubious, concession to bureaucratic impatience of criticism none the less healthy for being sometimes excessive. The wells of Indian public opinion have been persistently poisoned for years past, and instances are not rare which illustrate one of the most unpleasantly characteristic features of the literature of Indian unrest—namely, its insidious appeals to the Hindu scriptures and Hindu deities, and its deliberate vilification of every thing English. Calumny and abuse, combined with a wealth of sacred imagery, supply the place of any serious process of reasoning such as is displayed in Mr. Pal's programme with all its uncompromising hostility.*

Quotations could be multiplied *ad infinitum* and *ad nauseam* from the same papers—I have given only one from each—and from scores of others. These will suffice to show what the freedom of the Press stood for in India, in a country where there is an almost superstitious reverence for, and faith in, the printed word, where the influence of the Press is in proportion to the ignorance of the vast majority of its readers, and where, unfortunately, the more violent and scurrilous a newspaper becomes, the more its popularity grows among the very classes that boast of their education. Can any Englishman, however fervent his faith in liberty, regret that some at least of these papers have now disappeared either as the result of prosecutions under the Indian Criminal Code or from the operation of the new Press law? The mischief they have done still lives and will not be easily eradicated. Nor do such extracts as I have given by any means represent the lengths to which Indian "extremism" can go. They represent merely the literature of unrest which has been openly circulated in India. There is another and still more poisonous form which is smuggled into India from abroad and surreptitiously circulated. I shall deal with it on another occasion.

* Here follow extracts from (1) *The Hind Swarajya*, (2) *The Yugantar*, (3) *The Gujarati*, (4) *The Kal*, (5) *The Shakti*, (6) *The Dharma*, (7) *The Dacca Gazette*, (8) *The Barisal Hitaisi*, (9) *The Khulnawasi*, (10) *The Bedari* of Lahore, (11) *The Prem* of Ferozepur, (12) *The Sahaik* of Lahore, (13) *The Rangpur Bartabaha*, (14) *The Jhang Sial*, (15) *The Akash* of Delhi, (16) *The Kesari* of Poona and (17) *The Karnatic Bibhaba*, which, under the Press Act, we are precluded from reproducing. Perhaps these were the very extracts which were placed before members of the Select Committee of the Press Act of February last as justification of the measure. (Ed. J. W.)

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IV. A Hindu Revival

Thirty years ago, when I first visited India, the young Western-educated Hindu was apt to be, at least intellectually, *plus royaliste que le roi*. He plucked with both hands at the fruits of the tree of Western knowledge. Some were enthusiastic students of English literature, and especially of English poetry. They had their Wordsworth and their Browning Societies. Others steeped themselves in English history and loved to draw their political inspiration from Milton and Burke and John Stuart Mill. Others again were the humble disciples of Kant and Schlegel, of Herbert Spencer and Darwin. But whatever their special bent might be, the vast majority professed allegiance to Western ideals, and if they had not altogether—and often far too hastily—abjured, or learned secretly to despise, the beliefs and customs of their forefathers, they were at any rate anxious to modify and bring them into harmony with those of their Western teachers.

They may often have disliked the Englishman, but they respected and admired him ; if they resented his frequent assumption of unqualified superiority, they were disposed to admit that it was not without justification. The enthusiasm kindled in the first half of the last century by the great missionaries, like Carey and Duff, who had made distinguished converts among the highest classes of Hindu society, had begun to wane :—but if educated Hindus had grown more reluctant to accept the dogmas of Christianity, they were still ready to acknowledge the superiority of Western ethics, and the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal, the Prathana Samaj in Bombay, the Social Reform movement which found eloquent advocates all over India, and not least in Madras, and other agencies of a similar character for purging Hindu life of its more barbarous and superstitious associations, bore witness to the ascendancy which Western standards of morality exercised over the Hindu mind. Keshub Chunder Sen was not perhaps cast in so fine a mould as Ram Mohan Roy or the more conservatives Dr. Tagore, but his ideals were the same, and his life-dream was to find a common denominator for Hinduism and Christianity which should secure a thorough reform of Hindu society without denationalizing it.

Nor were the milder forms of political activity promoted by the founders of the Indian National Congress inconsistent with the acceptance of British rule or with the recognition of the great benefits which it has conferred upon India, and least of all with a genuine admiration for Western civilization. For many of them, at least the political boons which they craved from their rulers, were merely the logical corollaries of the moral and intellectual as well as of the material boons which they had already received. The fierce political agitation of later years denies the benefits of British rule and even the superiority of the civilization for which it stands. It has invented the legend of a golden age when all the virtues flourished and India was a land flowing with milk and honey until British lust of conquest brought it to ruin. No doubt even to-day there are many eminent Hindus who would still rely upon the older methods, and who have sufficiently assimilated the education they have received at the hands of Englishmen to share whole-heartedly the faith and pride of the latter in British ideals

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of liberty and self-government, and to be honestly convinced that those ideals might be more fully realized in the government of their own country if British administrators would only repose greater confidence in the natives of India and give them a larger share in the conduct of public affairs. But men of this type are now to be found chiefly amongst the older generation.

THE ESTRANGEMENT OF THE RISING GENERATION

No one who has studied, however scantily, the social and religious system which for the sake of convenience we call Hinduism will deny the loftiness of the philosophic conceptions which underlie even the extravagances of its creed or the marvellous stability of the complex fabric based upon its social code. It may seem to us to present to many of its aspects an almost unthinkable combination of spiritualistic idealism and of gross materialism, of asceticism and of sensuousness, of arrogant optimism when it identifies the human self with the universal self, and merges man in the Divinity and the Divinity in man, and of despondent pessimism when it preaches that life itself is but a painful illusion, and that the sovereign remedy and end of all evils is non-existence. Its mythology is often as revolting as the rigidity of its caste laws, which condemn millions of human beings to such social abasement that their very touch—the very shadow thrown by their body—is held to pollute the privileged mortals who are born into the higher castes. Nevertheless, Hinduism has for more than thirty centuries responded to the social and religious aspirations of a considerable fraction of the human race. It represents a great and ancient civilization, and that the Hindus should cling to it is not surprising. Nor is it surprising that after the first attraction exerted by the impact of an alien civilization equipped with all the panoply of organized force and scientific achievements had worn off, a certain reaction should have ensued. In the same way it was inevitable that, after the novelty of British rule, of the law and order and security for life and property which it had established, had gradually worn away, those who had never experienced the evils from which it had freed India should begin to repine under the restraints which it imposed. What is disheartening and alarming is the lengths to which this reaction has been carried. For among the younger generation of Hindus there has unquestionably grown up a deep-seated and bitter hostility not only to British rule and to British methods of administration, but to all the influences of Western civilization, and the rehabilitation of Hindu customs and beliefs has proceeded *pari passu* with the growth of political disaffection.

REACTIONARY TENDENCIES

Practices which an educated Hindu would have been at pains to explain away, if he had not frankly repudiated them thirty years ago, now find zealous apologists. Polytheism is not merely extolled as the poetic expression of eternal verities, but the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon are being invested with fresh sanctity. The Brahmo Samaj is steadily losing vitality, and though its literary output is still considerable, its membership is shrinking. The Prathana Samaj is dead. The fashion of the day is for religious "revivals," in which the worship of Kali, the san-

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guinary goddess of destruction, or the cult of Shivaji-Maharaj, the Mahratta chieftain who humbled in his day the pride of the alien conquerors of Hindustan, plays an appropriately conspicuous part. The Arya-Samaj, which is spreading all over the Punjab and in the United Provinces, represents in one of its aspects a revolt against Hindu orthodoxy, but in another it represents equally a revolt against Western ideals, for, in the teaching of its founder, Dayanand, it has found an aggressive gospel which bases the claims of Aryan, *i.e.*, Hindu, supremacy on the Vedas as the one ultimate source of human and divine wisdom. The exalted character of Vedantic philosophy has been as widely recognized amongst European students as the subtle beauty of many of the Upanishads, in which the cryptic teachings of the Vedas has been developed along different and often conflicting lines of thought to suit the eclecticism of the Hindu mind. But the Arya-Samaj has not been content to assert the ethical perfection of the Vedas. In its zeal to proclaim the immanent superiority of Aryan civilization—it repudiates the term Hindu as savouring of an alien origin—over Western civilization, it claims to have discovered in the Vedas the germs of all the discoveries of modern science even of such things as telegraphy and aeroplanes.

THE WESTERN ALLIES OF HINDUISM

Just as the political agitation in India has derived invaluable encouragement from a handful of British members of Parliament and other sympathizers in Europe and America, so this Hindu revival has been largely stimulated and to some extent prompted by Europeans and Americans. Not only the writings of English and German scholars, like Max-Muller and Deutsch, helped enormously to revive the interest of educated Hindus in their ancient literature and earlier forms of religion, but it was in the polemical tracts of European writers that the first protagonists of Hindu reaction against Christian influences found their readiest weapons of attack.

The campaign was started in 1887 by the Hindu Tract Society of Madras, which set itself first to inflame popular fanaticism against the missionaries who, especially in the south of India, had been the pioneers of Western education. Bradlaugh's text-books and the pamphlets of many lesser writers belonging to the same school of thought were eagerly translated into the vernacular, and those that achieved the greatest popularity were books like "The Evil of Continence," in which not only Christian theology, but Christian morality was held up to scorn and ridicule. The advent of the theosophists, heralded by Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott, gave a fresh impetus to the revival, and certainly no Hindu has done so much to organize and consolidate the movement as Mrs. Annie Besant, who, in her Central Hindu College at Benares and her Theosophical Institution at Adyar, near Madras, has openly proclaimed her faith in the superiority of the whole Hindu system to the vaunted civilization of the West. Is it surprising that Hindus should turn their backs upon our civilization when a European of highly-trained intellectual power and with an extraordinary gift of eloquence comes and tells them that it is they who possess and have from all times possessed the key to supreme wisdom; that their gods, their philosophy, their morality are on a higher plane

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of thought than the West has ever reached? Is it surprising that with such encouragement Hinduism should no longer remain on the defensive, but, discarding in this respect all its own traditions as a non-proselytizing creed, send out missionaries to preach the message of Hindu enlightenment to those still groping in the darkness of the West? The mission of Swami Vivekananda to the Chicago Congress of Religions is in itself one of the most striking incidents in the history of Hindu revivalism, but it is perhaps less wonderful than the triumph he achieved when he returned to India accompanied by a chosen band of eager disciples from the West.

REVIVALISM AND CRIME

There are, indeed, endless forms to this revival of Hinduism—as endless as to Hinduism itself—but what it is perhaps most important for us to note is that wherever political agitation assumes the most virulent character there the Hindu revival also assumes the most extravagant shapes. Secret societies place their murderous activities under the special patronage of one or other of the chief popular deities. Their vows are taken “on the sacred water of the Ganges,” or “holding the sacred Tulsi plant,” or “in the presence of Mahadevi”—the great goddess who delights in bloody sacrifices. Charms and amulets, incantations and imprecations, play an important part in the ceremonies of initiation. In some quarters there has been some recrudescence of the *Shakti* cultus, with its often obscene and horrible rites, and the unnatural depravity which was so marked a feature in the case of the band of young Brahmans who conspired to murder Mr. Jackson at Nasik represents a form of erotomania which is certainly much more common amongst Hindu political fanatics than amongst Hindus in general.

By no means all, however, are of this degenerate type, and the *Bhagavat Gita* has been impressed into the service of sedition by men who would have been as incapable of dabbling in political as in any other form of crime, had they not been able to invest it with a religious sanction. There is no more beautiful book in the sacred literature of the Hindus; there is none in which the more enlightened find greater spiritual comfort; yet it is in the *Bhagavat Gita* that, by a strange perversion, the Hindu conspirator has sought and claims to have found texts that justify murder as a divinely inspired deed when it is committed in the sacred cause of Hinduism. Nor is it only the extremists who appeal in this fashion to Hindu religious emotionalism. It is often just as difficult to appraise the subtle differences which separate the “moderate” from the advanced politician and the “advanced” politician from the “extremist” as it is to distinguish between the various forms and gradations of the Hindu revival in its religious and social aspects. But it was in the courtyard of the great temple of Kali at Calcutta in the presence of “the terrible goddess” that the “leaders of the Bengali nation,” men who, like Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, have always professed to be “moderates,” held their chief demonstrations against “partition” and administered the *Swadeshi* oath to their followers. Equally noteworthy is the apart played by the revival of Ganpati celebrations in honour of Ganesh, the elephant-headed god, perhaps the most popular of all Hindu deities, in stimulating political disaffection in the Deccan.

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THE STIRRING OF THE WATERS

Hand in hand with this campaign for the glorification of Hinduism at the expense of Western civilization there has been carried on another and far more invidious campaign for the vilification of everything British. The individual Englishman is denounced as a blood-sucker and a tyrant ; his methods of administration are alleged to be wilfully directed to the impoverishment, and even to the depopulation, of India ; his social customs are traduced as depraved and corrupt ; even his womenfolk are accused of common wantonness. Certainly the most significant features of the literature of Indian unrest are its appeals to the Hindu scriptures and to the Hindu duties and its exploitation of the religious sentiment for the promotion of racial hatred. *Swadeshi* and *Swaraj* are the battle cries of this new Hindu "nationalism," but they mean far more than a mere claim to fiscal or even political independence. They mean an organized uplifting of the old Hindu traditions, social and religious, intellectual and moral against the imported ideals of an alien race and an alien civilization.

This is a grave phenomenon not to be contemptuously dismissed as the folly of ill-digested knowledge or summarily judged and condemned, in a spirit of self-righteousness, as an additional proof of the innate depravity and ingratitude of the East. It undoubtedly represents a deep stirring of the waters amongst a people endowed with no mean gifts of head and heart, and if it has thrown up much scum, it affords glimpses of nobler elements which time may purify and bring to the surface. Nor if our rule and our civilization are to prevail must we be unmindful of our own responsibility or forget that our presence and the influences we brought with us first stirred the waters.

V. The Influence of Brahmanism

The part played by Brahmanism in Indian unrest connotes perhaps more than anything else the reactionary side of that unrest. Though there have been and still are many enlightened Brahmans, who have cordially responded to the best influences of Western education, and have worked with admirable zeal and courage to bridge the gulf between Indian and European civilization, Brahmanism as a system represents the antipodes of all that British rule must stand for in India, and Brahmanism has from times immemorial dominated Hindu society.

A PRIESTLY ARISTOCRACY

The Brahmans are the sacerdotal caste of India. They are at the same time the proudest and the closest aristocracy that the world has ever seen, for they form not merely an aristocracy of birth in the strictest sense of the term, but one of divine origin. Of the Brahman it may be said as of no other privileged mortal except perhaps the Levite of the Old Testament : *Nascitur non fit*. No king, however powerful, can make or unmake a Brahman ; no genius, however transcendent, no service, however conspicuous, no virtues, however pre-eminent, can avail to raise a Hindu from a lower caste to the Brahman's estate. Not even the Brahmans themselves can raise to their own equal one who is not born of their caste, though by the exercise of the castely authority

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they can in specific cases outcaste a fellow-Brahman who has offended against the immutable laws of caste, and, except for minor transgressions which allow of atonement and reinstatement, when once outcasted he and his descendants cease for ever to be Brahmans. The Brahmans date back to the remote ages of the Vedas, when they constituted themselves the only authorized intermediaries between mankind and the gods. In them became vested the monopoly of the ancient language in which all religious rites are performed, and with a monopoly of the knowledge of Sanskrit they retained a monopoly of learning long after Sanskrit itself had become a dead language. Like the priests who wielded a Latin pen in the Middle Ages in Europe, they sat as advisers and conscience-keepers in the councils of every Hindu ruler. To the present day they alone can expound the Hindu scriptures, they alone can approach the gods in their temples, they alone can minister to the spiritual needs of such of the lower castes as are credited with sufficient human dignity to be in any way worthy of their ministrations.

In the course of ages differences and distinctions have gradually grown up amongst them, and they have split up into innumerable septs and sub-castes. As they multiplied from generation to generation, an increasing proportion were compelled to supplement the avocations originally sacred to their caste by other and lowlier means of livelihood. There are to-day over 14 million Brahmans in India, and a very large majority of them have been compelled to adopt agricultural, military, and mercantile pursuits which, as we know from the Code of Manu, were already regarded as, in certain circumstances, legitimate or excusable for a Brahman even in the days of that ancient law-giver. In regard to all other castes, however, the Brahman, however humble his worldly *status*, retains an undisputed pre-eminence which he never forgets or allows to be forgotten, though it may only be a pale reflection of the prestige and authority of his more exalted caste-men—a prestige and authority, be it added, which have often been justified by individual achievements. How far the influence of Brahmanism as a system has been socially a good or an evil influence I am not concerned to discuss, but, however antagonistic it may be at the present moment to the influence of Western civilization, it would be unfair to deny that it has shown itself and still shows itself capable of producing a very high type both of intellect and of character. Nor could it otherwise have survived as it has the vicissitudes of centuries.

THE SUPPLENESS OF THE BRAHMAN

Neither the triumph of Buddhism, which lasted for nearly 500 years, nor successive waves of Mahomedan conquest availed to destroy the power of Brahmanism, nor has it been broken by British supremacy. Inflexibly as he dominates a social system in all essentials more rigid than any other, the Brahman has not only recognized the need of a certain plasticity in its construction which allows for constant expansion, but he has himself shown unfailing adaptability in all non-essentials to varying circumstances. To the requirements of their new Western masters the Brahmans adapted themselves from the first with admirable suppleness, and when a Western system of education was introduced into India in the first half of the last century, they were quicker than any other class to

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realize how it could be used to fortify their own position. The main original object of the introduction of Western education into India was the training of a sufficient number of young Indians to fill the subordinate posts in the public offices with English-speaking natives. The Brahmins responded freely to the call, and they soon acquired almost the same monopoly of the new Western learning as they had enjoyed of Hindu lore through the centuries. With the development of the great administrative services, with the substitution of English for the vernacular tongues as the only official language, with the remodelling of judicial administration and procedure on British lines, with the growth of the liberal professions and of the Press, their influence constantly found new fields of activity, whilst through the old traditional channels it continued to permeate those strata of Hindu society with which the West had established little or no contact.

THE INVASION OF WESTERN IDEAS AND HABITS

Nevertheless the spread of Western ideas and habits was bound to loosen to some extent the Brahmins' hold upon Hindu society, for that hold is chiefly rooted in the immemorial sanctity of custom, which new habits and methods imported from the West necessarily tended to undermine. Scrupulous—and, according to many earnest Englishmen, over scrupulous—as we were to respect religious beliefs and prejudices, the influence of Western civilization could not fail to clash directly or indirectly with many of the ordinances of Hindu orthodoxy. In non-essentials Brahmanism soon found it expedient to relax the rigour of caste obligations, as for instance to meet the hard case of young Hindus who could not travel across the “black water” to Europe for their studies without breaking caste, or indeed travel even in their own country in railways and river steamers without incurring the pollution of bodily contact with the “untouchable” castes. Penances were at first imposed which had gradually to be lightened until they came to be merely nominal. Graver issues were raised when such ancient customs as infant marriage and the degradation of child widows were challenged. The ferment of new ideas was spreading amongst the Brahmins themselves. Some had openly discarded their ancestral faith, and many more were moved to search their own scriptures for some interpretation of the law less inconsistent with Western standards. It seemed at one moment as if, under the inspiration of men like Ranade in the Deccan and Tagore in Bengal, Brahmanism itself was about to take the lead in purging Hinduism of its most baneful superstitions and bringing it into line with the philosophy and ethics of the West. But the liberal movement failed to prevail against the forces of popular superstition and orthodox bigotry, combined with the bitterness too frequently resulting from the failure of Western education to secure material success or even an adequate livelihood for those who had departed from the old ways. Though there have been and still are many admirable exceptions Brahmanism remained the stronghold of reaction against the Western invasion. All over India educated Brahmins have figured prominently in the social and religious revival of Hinduism which I described in my last letter, and they have figured no less prominently, whether in the ranks of the extremists or amongst the moderate and advanced politicians, in the political movement which has accompanied that revival.

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THE BRAHMANS OF THE DECCAN

Fundamental as the antagonism has proved to be between the civilization represented by the British *raj* and the essential spirit of Brahmanism, it was bound to be more acute in the Deccan than in any other part of India, for nowhere had Brahmanism wielded such absolute power within times which may still be called recent. Less than one hundred years ago Poona was the capital of a theocratic state in which, behind the throne of the Peishwas, both spiritual and secular authority were concentrated in the hands of the Brahmans. Such memories are slow to die and least of all in ancient and conservative country like India, and there was one sept of Brahmans, at any rate, who were determined not to let them die. Attention has already been drawn in *The Times* to the part played by the Chitpawan Brahmans in the Mahratta government of the Deccan under the Peishwas as well as to the part which they have recently played in the anti-British movement down to and including the Nasik conspiracy. From the time of the downfall of the Peishwa dominion to the present day there has probably been amongst the Brahmans of the Deccan, and especially amongst the Chitpawan Brahmans, an unbroken tradition of hatred towards British rule, an undying hope that it might some day be subverted and their own ascendancy restored. Not to mention other and earlier indications, it was in Poona that the native Press, mainly conducted by Brahmans, first assumed that tone of virulent hostility towards British rule and British rulers which led to the Press Act of 1879, and some of the worst extracts quoted at that time by the Government of India in support of that measure are taken from Poona newspapers.

TWO CONFLICTING CURRENTS

But if there were already then wild and irreconcilable spirits bent on fomenting disaffection there were amongst the Deccani Brahmans themselves a small intellectual *elite* who, though by no means servile apologists of British rule, fully realized that their primary duty was not to stir up popular passion against alien rulers but to bring Hindu society into closer communion with the higher civilization which those rulers, whatever their shortcomings, undoubtedly represented. Conspicuous amongst such men was Mahadeo Govind Ranade. Equally conspicuous in the opposite camp was a man of a very different stamp, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who was destined to become one of the most dangerous pioneers of disaffection. It was a Hindu gentleman and a Brahman who told me that if I wanted to study the psychology of Indian unrest I should begin by studying Tilak's career. "Tilak's onslaught in Poona upon Ranade, his alliance with the bigots of orthodoxy, his appeals to popular superstitions in the new Ganpati celebrations, to racial fanaticism in the 'Anti-Cow-killing Movement,' to Mahratta sentiment in the cult which he introduced of Shivaji, his active propaganda amongst schoolboys and students, his gymnastic societies, his preaching in favour of physical training, and last but not least his control of the Press and the note of personal violence which he imparted to newspaper polemics, represent the progressive stages of a highly-organized campaign which has served as a model to the apostles of unrest all over India."

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VI. Tilak's First Campaign in the Deccan

If any one amongst the Brahmans of the Deccan can claim to be truly the father of Indian unrest, it is Bal Gangadhar Tilak. The story of his initial campaign is well worth studying, for it illustrates clearly the close connexion that exists between the forces of political disaffection and those of social and religious reaction, whilst the methods which he employed and the results which attended his activity have been reproduced with singular fidelity in subsequent phases of the movement.

REFORM OR REACTION

When Tilak entered upon public life in the early eighties, the Brahmans of the Deccan were divided into two camps, one of which, headed by Mr. Justice Ranade, consisted of a small intellectual *elite*, who held, without foregoing their right to criticize British administrators or to promote political reforms by constitutional methods, that Indians of all creeds, including the Hindus, should begin by reforming their own social institutions, and bring them into greater harmony with Western standards. Tilak, a Chitpawan Brahman of considerable erudition, who had graduated with honours at Bombay, had, however, inherited his full share of the hostility to British ascendancy which so many Brahmans of the Deccan, and especially Chitpawan Brahmans, have cherished ever since the downfall of their Peishwa kingdom. He was also by temperament and ambition impatient of all restraint, and jealous of the commanding authority which a man like Ranade owed quite as much to the nobility of his character as to his social position and force of intellect. In opposition to Ranade, with whom he had at first co-operated as an educationist, Tilak drifted rapidly into the reactionary camp. The battle was first engaged over the control of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha and the Education Society, two progressive associations which, though mainly composed of Brahmans, included a sprinkling of Mahomedans and of non-Brahman Hindus. Tilak had thrown himself into journalism, and after the repeal of the Indian Press Law, on the return of a Liberal Administration to office at home in 1881, he had been amongst the first to revive the incendiary methods which it had temporarily and very successfully checked. His first onslaught upon Ranade's position, however, failed, and instead of supplanting him, it was he who was compelled in 1890 to sever his connexion with the Education Society.

Tilak's defeat was short lived. The introduction of the Age of Consent Bill, in 1890, to mitigate the evils of Hindu child marriage gave him a fresh opening. In the columns of the *Kesari*, of which he had become sole proprietor, he denounced Ranade and others who supported the measure as renegades and traitors to the cause of Hinduism, and thus won the support of conservative orthodoxy, which had hitherto viewed with alarm some of his literary excursions into the field of Vedantic exegesis. With the help of the brothers Nattu, who were the recognized leaders of Hindu orthodoxy, he carried his propaganda into the schools and colleges in the teeth of the Moderate party, and, proclaiming that unless they learnt to employ force the Hindus must expect to be impotent witnesses of the gradual downfall of all their ancient institutions, he proceeded to organize gymnastic societies in which

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physical training and the use of more or less primitive weapons were taught in order to develop the martial instincts of the rising generation.

THE ANTI-MAHOMEDAN AGITATION

If amongst the Brahmans of Maharashtra hatred of the British is the dominant passion, amongst the Mahratta population at large, whatever there is of racial and religious jealousy is mainly directed against the Mahomedans. It is partly, no doubt, a legacy of the old days of Mahomedan supremacy. In 1893 some riots of a rather more severe character than usual gave Tilak an opportunity of broadening the new movement by enlisting in its support the old anti-Mahomedan feeling of the people. He not only convoked popular meetings in which his fiery eloquence denounced the Mahomedans as the sworn foes of Hinduism, but he started an organization known as the "Anti Cow-Killing Society," which was intended and regarded as a direct provocation to the Mahomedans who, like ourselves, think it no sacrilege to eat beef. In vain did Ranade and other liberal Hindus appeal to him to desist from these inflammatory methods. Their appeals had no effect upon him, and merely served his purpose by undermining the little authority they still possessed. Government had forbidden Hindu processions to play music whilst passing in front of Mahomedan mosques, and this was a fertile cause of riotous affrays. Tilak not only himself protested against this "interference with the liberties of the people," but insisted that the Sarvajanik Sabha should identify itself with the "national" cause and memorialize Government for the removal of a prohibition so offensive to Hindu sentiment. The Moderates hesitated, but were overawed by popular clamour and the threats of the Tilak press. The Mahomedans and a few other members repudiated the memorial and resigned, and Tilak, though not yet in absolute control of the Sabha, became already practically its master.

A RELIGIOUS "REVIVAL"

Tilak's propaganda had at the same time steadily assumed a more and more anti-British character, and it was always as the allies and the tools of Government, in its machinations against Hinduism, that the Hindu reformers and the Mahomedans had in turn been denounced. In order to invest it with a more definitely religious sanction, Tilak placed it under the special patronage of the most popular deity in India. Though Ganesh, the elephant-headed god, is the god of learning whom Hindu writers delight to invoke on the title-page of their books, there is scarcely a village or a frequented roadside in India that does not show some rude representation of his familiar features, usually smeared over with red ochre. Tilak could not have devised a more popular move than when he set himself to organize annual festivals in honour of Ganesh known as Ganpati celebrations, and to found in all the chief centres of the Deccan Ganpati societies, each with its *mela* or choir recruited amongst his youthful bands of gymnasts. These festivals gave occasion for theatrical performances and religious songs in which the legends of Hindu mythology were skilfully exploited to stir up hatred of the "foreigner"—and *mleccha*, the term employed for "foreigner," applied equally to Europeans and to Mahomedans—as well as for tumultuous processions only too well

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calculated to provoke affrays with the Mahomedans and with the police, which in turn led to judicial proceedings that served as a fresh excuse for noisy protests and inflammatory pleadings. With the Ganpati celebrations the area of Tilak's propaganda was widely increased.

THE APOTHEOSIS OF SHIVAJI

But the movement had yet to be given a form which should directly appeal to the fighting instincts of the Mahrattas and stimulate active disaffection by reviving memories of olden times when, under Shivaji's leadership, they had rolled back the tide of Musulman conquest and created a Mahratta Empire of their own. The legends of Shivaji's prowess still lingered in Maharashtra, where the battlemented strongholds which he built crown many a precipitous crag of the Deccan highlands. In a valley below Pratapgurh the spot is still shown where Shivaji induced the Mahomedan general, Afzul Khan, to meet him in peaceful conference half-way between the contending armies, and, as he bent down to greet his guest, plunged into his bowels the famous "tiger's claw," a hooked gauntlet of steel, while the Mahratta forces sprang out of ambush and cut the Mahomedan army to pieces. But if Shivaji's memory still lived, it belonged to a past which was practically dead and gone. Only a few years before, an Englishman who had visited Shivaji's tomb had written to a local newspaper calling attention to the ruinous condition into which the people of Maharashtra had allowed the last resting-place of their national hero to fall. Some say it was this letter which first inspired Tilak with the idea of reviving Shivaji's memory and converting it into a living force. Originally it was upon the great days of the Poona Peishwas that Tilak had laid the chief stress, and he may possibly have discovered that theirs were not after all names to conjure with amongst non-Brahman Mahrattas, who had suffered heavily enough at their hands. At any rate, Tilak brought Shivaji to the forefront and set in motion a great "national" propaganda which culminated in 1895 in the celebration at all the chief centres of Brahman activity in the Deccan of Shivaji's reputed birthday, the principal commemoration being held under Tilak's own presidency at Raigad, where the Mahratta chieftain had himself been crowned.*

THE INEVITABLE SEQUEL

In the reflected blaze of this apotheosis of Shivaji, Tilak stood forth as the appointed leader of the "nation." He was the triumphant champion of Hindu orthodoxy, the high-priest of Ganesli, the inspired prophet of a new "nationalism," which in the name of Shivaji would cast out the hated *mlecchas* and restore the glories of Mahratta history. The Government feared him, for people could put no other construction on the official confirmation of his election when he was returned in 1895 as a member of the Bombay Legislative Council—above all, when inside the Council room he continued with the same audacity and the same impunity his campaign of calumny and insult. His activity was unceasing. He disdained none of the arts which make for popularity. His house

* Here we have omitted three extracts made by Mr. Chirol from the speeches of Mr. Tilak and two other Mahratta Brahmins in justification of Shivaji's conduct and policy.—Ed., *I. II.*

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was always open to those who sought in the right spirit for assistance or advice. He had absolute control of the Sabha and ruled the municipality of Poona. In private and in public, through his speeches and through his newspapers, he worked upon the prejudices and passions of both the educated and the uneducated, and especially upon the crude enthusiasm of the young. Towards the end of 1896 the Deccan was threatened with famine. Hungry stomachs are prompt to violence, and Tilak started a "no-rent" campaign. Outrages such as the mutilation of the Queen's statue at Bombay, the attempt to fire the Church Mission Hall, the assaults upon moderate Hindus who refused to toe the line, became ominously frequent. Worse was to follow when the plague appeared. The measure at first adopted by Government to check the spread of this new visitation doubtless offended in many ways against the customs and prejudices of the people, especially the searching and disinfection of houses, and the forcible removal of plaguepatients, even when they happened to be Brahmans. What Tilak could do by secret agitation and by a rabid campaign in the Press to raise popular resentment to a white heat he did. The *Kesari* published incitements to violence which were put into the mouth of Shivaji himself. The inevitable consequences ensued. On June 27, 1897, on their way back from an official reception in celebration of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, Mr. Rand, an Indian civilian, who was President of the Poona Plague Committee, and Lieutenant Ayerst, of the Commissariat Department, were shot down by a young Brahman on the Ganeshkind Road. No direct connexion has been established between that crime and Tilak. But, like the murderer of Mr. Jackson at Nasik last winter, the murderer of Rand and Ayerst declared that it was the doctrines expounded in Tilak's newspapers that had driven him to the deed. The murderer and some others who had merely given effect to the teachings of Tilak were sentenced to death, but Tilak himself, who was prosecuted for a seditious article published a few days before the murder, received only a short term of imprisonment, and was released before the completion of his term under certain pledges of good behaviour which he broke as soon as it suited him to break them.

Thus ended the first campaign of Indian unrest, which, even in its details, has served as an incitement and a model to all those who have conducted subsequent operations in the same field.

VII. The Second Campaign in the Deccan.

The murder of Rand and Ayerst at Poona on the day of Queen Victoria's second Jubilee sent a thrill of horror throughout India and caused a momentary sensation even in England. But though Government was not wholly blind to the warning, it could not decide what ought to be done, and, beyond strengthening one or two articles of the Criminal Code bearing on Press offences, it did nothing until history had repeated itself on a much larger scale. Tilak was generously released from prison before the expiration of his sentence, but his release was construed in the Deccan as a fresh triumph, and he was acclaimed by his followers as a "national" martyr and hero. After a short "rest-cure" in a sanatorium, Tilak returned to the *Kesari*, which, in the hands of

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his coadjutors, two other Chitpawan Brahmans, Mr. Kelkar and Mr. Khadilkar, had lost nothing of its vitriolic pungency in his absence. The celebration with renewed pomp in 1900 of Shivaji's "birthday" at Raigad marked the resumption of Tilak's operations. I will not weary your readers by recounting all the incidents of this second campaign in the Deccan in which Ganpati celebrations, Shivaji festivals, gymnastic societies, &c., played exactly the same part as in the first campaign described in the preceding article. For three or four years the Tai Maharaj case, in which, as executor of one of his friends, Shri Baba Maharaja, a Sirdar of Poona, Tilak was attacked by the widow and indicted on charges of forgery, perjury, and corruption, absorbed a great deal of his time, but his final acquittal after long and wearisome proceedings was greeted as another triumph for him, and not unnaturally won him much sympathy, even amongst those who were politically opposed to him. But throughout this trying ordeal, Tilak never relaxed his political activity either in the Press or in the manifold organizations which he controlled.

TILAK AND THE NATIONAL CONGRESS

His influence, moreover, was rapidly extending far beyond Poona and the Deccan. He had at an early date associated himself with the Indian National Congress, and he was secretary of the Standing Committee for the Deccan. His Congress work had brought him into contact with the politicians of other provinces, and upon none did his teachings and his example produce so deep an impression as upon the emotional Bengalees. He had not the gift of sonorous eloquence which they possess, and he never figured conspicuously as an orator at the annual sessions of the Congress. But his calculating resourcefulness and his indomitable energy, even his masterfulness, impressed them all the more and in the two memorable sessions held at Benares in 1905 and at Calcutta in 1906, when the agitation over the Partition of Bengal was at its height, his was the dominant personality, not at the tribune, but in the lobbies. He had been one of the first champions of *Swadeshi* as an economic weapon in the struggle against British rule, and he saw in the adoption of the boycott, with all the lawlessness which it involved, an unprecedented opportunity of stimulating the active forces of disaffection. As far as Bengal was concerned, an "advanced" Press which had borrowed its tone from Tilak's *Kesari* had already done its work, and Tilak could rely upon the enthusiastic support of men like Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal and Mr. Arabindo Ghose, who were politically his disciples, though their religious and social standpoints were in many respects different. Tilak's main object was to pledge the rest of India, as represented in the Congress, to the violent course upon which Bengal was embarking. Amongst the Moderate section outside Bengal there was a disposition to confine its action to platonic expressions of sympathy with the Bengalees and with the principle of *Swadeshi*—in itself perfectly legitimate—as a movement for the encouragement of native industries. At Benares, in 1905, the Congress had adopted a resolution which only conditionally endorsed the boycott, and the increasing disorders which had subsequently accompanied its enforcement had tended to enhance rather than to diminish the reluctance of the Moderate

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party to see the Congress definitely pledged to it when it met at the end of 1906 in Calcutta. The "advanced" party led by Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal had put forward Tilak's candidature to the presidency, and a split which seemed imminent was only avoided by a compromise which saved appearances. The veteran Mr. Naoroji, to whom none could venture openly to object, was elected into the chair, and a resolution as amended by Tilak was adopted which, without mentioning the word boycott, pledged the Congress to encourage its practice. There was nevertheless considerable heart-burning, and the Moderates were suspected of contemplating some retrograde move at the following annual session. Tilak was determined to frustrate any such scheme, and before the Congress assembled at Surat he elaborated at a "nationalist" conference, with Mr. Arabindo Ghose in the chair, a plan of campaign which was to defeat the Moderates by demanding before the election of the president, an undertaking that the resolutions of the Calcutta Congress should be upheld. The plan however was only half successful. The first day's proceedings produced a violent scene in which the howling down of Mr. Surendranath Banerjea by the "advanced" wing revealed the personal jealousies that had grown up between the old Bengali leader on the one hand and Tilak and his younger followers in Bengal on the other. The second day's proceedings ended in still wilder confusion, and after something like a free fight the Congress broke up after an irreparable rupture, from which its prestige has never recovered.

AT THE ZENITH OF HIS POWER

Tilak's own prestige, however, with the "advanced" party never stood higher, either in the Deccan or outside of it. In the Deccan he not only maintained all his old activities, but had extended their field. Besides the *Kal*, edited by another Chitpawan Brahman, and the *Rashtramata* at Poona which went to even greater lengths than Tilak's own *Kesari*, lesser papers obeying his inspiration had been established in many of the smaller centres. A movement had been set on foot for the creation of "national" schools, entirely independent of State support, and therefore of State supervision, in which disaffection could, without let or hindrance, be made part and parcel of the curriculum. Such were the schools closed down last year in the Central Provinces and this year at Telegaon. The great development of the cotton industry during the last ten years, especially in Bombay itself—which has led to vast agglomerations of labour under conditions unfamiliar in India—had given Tilak an opportunity of establishing contact with a class of the population hitherto outside the purview of Indian politics. The conditions of labour in India are by no means wholly satisfactory and amongst other evils have favoured the growth of intemperance. It would have been all to his honour that Tilak hastened to take up the cause of labour and temperance had he not perverted it as he perverted everything he touched to the promotion of race hatred. His primary motives may have been excellent, and it is unnecessary to question the genuineness of his philanthropy, but he subordinated all to his ruling anti-British passion. He must have had a considerable command of funds for the purposes of his propaganda, and though he doubtless had not a few powerful and generous supporters, many subscribed from

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fear of the lash which he knew how to apply through the Press to the tepid and the recalcitrant, just as his gymnastic societies sometimes resolved themselves into juvenile bands of dacoities to swell the coffers of *Swarnj*. Not even Mr. Gokhale with all his moral and intellectual force could stem the flowing tide of Tilak's popularity in the Deccan any more than Ranade had been able to do so 10 or 15 years before ; and in order not to be swept under, he was perhaps often compelled like many other Moderates to go further than his own judgment can have approved. Tilak commanded the allegiance of barristers and pleaders, school-masters and professors, clerks in Government offices—in fact, of the large majority of the so-called educated classes, largely recruited amongst his own and other Brahman castes ; and his propaganda had begun to filter down not only to the coolies in the cities, but even to the rayats, or at least the head-men in the villages.

More than that. From the Deccan, as we have already seen in his relations with the Indian National Congress, his influence was projected far and wide. His house was a place of pilgrimage for the disaffected from all parts of India. His prestige as a Brahman of the Brahmins and a pillar of orthodoxy, in spite of the latitude of the views which he sometimes expressed in regard to the depressed castes, his reputation for profound learning in the philosophies both of the West and of the East, his trenchant style, his indefatigable activity, the glamour of his philanthropy, his accessibility to high and low, his many acts of genuine kindness, the personal magnetism which, without any great physical advantages, he exerted upon most of those who came in contact with him, and especially upon the young, combined to equip him more fully than any other Indian politician for the leadership of a revolutionary movement.

The appeal which Tilak made to the Hindus was twofold. He taught them, on the one hand, that India, and especially Maharashtra, the land of the Mahrattas, had been happier and better and more prosperous under a Hindu *raj* than it had ever been or could ever be under the rule of alien "demons" ; and that if the British *raj* had at one time served some useful purpose in introducing India to the scientific achievements of Western civilization, it had done so at ruinous cost, both material and moral, to the Indians whose wealth it had drained and whose social and religious institutions it had undermined ; and on the other hand he held out to them the prospect that, if power were once restored to the Brahmins, who had already learnt all that there was of good to be learnt from the English, the golden age would return for gods and men. That Tilak himself hardly believed in the possibility of overthrowing British rule is more than probable, but what some Indians who knew him well tell me he did believe was that the British could be driven or wearied by a ceaseless and menacing agitation into gradually surrendering to the Brahmins the reality of power, as did the later Peishwas, and remaining content with a more or less nominal sovereignty.

THE PROSECUTION OF TILAK

Such was the position, when on June 24, 1908, Tilak was arrested in Bombay on charges connected with the publication in the *Kesari* of articles containing inflammatory comments on the Muzafferpur outrage, in which Mrs. and Miss Kennedy had been

killed by a bomb—the first of a long list of similar outrages in Bengal. Not in the moment of first excitement but weeks afterwards the *Kesari* had commented on this crime in terms which fell but little short of an actual justification of the use of the bomb as a political weapon. The bomb was “a kind of witchcraft, a charm, an amulet,” and the *Kesari* delighted in showing that neither the “supervision of the police” nor “swarms of detectives” could stop “these simple playful sports of science.” Whilst professing to deprecate such methods, it threw the responsibility upon Government, which allowed “keen disappointment to overtake thousands of intelligent persons who have been awakened to the necessity of securing the rights of *Swami*.” Tilak spoke four whole days in his own defence—21½ hours altogether—but the jury returned a verdict of “Guilty,” and he was sentenced to six years’ transportation, afterwards commuted on account of his age and health to simple imprisonment at Mandalay.

The prosecution of a man of Tilak’s popularity and influence at a time when neither the Imperial Government nor the Government of India had realized the full danger of the situation was undoubtedly a grave measure of which a weaker Government than that of Bombay under Sir George Clarke might well have shirked the responsibility. There were serious riots during and after the trial, but they merely served to show the extent and the character of the nefarious influence which Tilak had already acquired over some of the turbulent classes, chiefly mill-hands, in the city. By a happy combination of sympathy and firmness Sir George Clarke had won the respect of the vast majority of the community, and though he failed to secure the active support which he might have expected from the Moderates, there were few of them who did not secretly approve and even welcome his action. Its effects were great and enduring, for Tilak’s conviction was a heavy blow—perhaps the heaviest which has been dealt—to the forces of unrest, at least in the Deccan ; and some months later, one of the organs of his party, the *Rashtramit*, reviewing the occurrences of the year, was fain to admit that “the sudden removal of Mr. Tilak’s towering personality threw the whole province into dismay and unnerved the other leaders.”

The agitation in the Deccan did not die out with Tilak’s disappearance, for he left his stamp upon a new generation which he had educated and trained. The Kohlapur plot, the murder of Mr. Jackson at Nasik, and the ramifications of the conspiracy which the judicial investigation subsequently disclosed, and many other incidents of a less dramatic character, have afforded fresh evidence of the dangerous spirit which his doctrines had aroused. But in spite of these spasmodic outbreaks, of which we may not even yet have seen the end, the aggressive disloyalty in the Deccan has been at least temporarily set back. The firmer attitude adopted by the Government of India and such repressive measures as the Press Act, combined with judicious reforms, have done much ; but it was by the prosecution of Tilak that the forces of unrest in the Deccan lost their ablest and boldest leader—perhaps the only one who might have concentrated their direction, not only in the Deccan, but in the whole of India, in his own hands and given to the movement, with all its varied and often conflicting tendencies, an organization and unity which it still happily seems to lack. (Mr. Valentine Chirol in the *Times*.)

LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

LORD CURZON ON BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

Lorn Curzon has apparently grown sick of the 'misconceptions' that have of late arisen in connection with the estimate of the advantages derived both to England and to India from their existing relations with each other. His Lordship points out that India very often assumes that the advantage of the connection is mainly or wholly on the side of England, and England also thinks that India is the chief gainer. It is to clear these misconceptions and to help both parties to arrive at an unbiased judgment that Lord Curzon has contributed an article on *British Rule in India* to a recent number of the *North American Review*, in the first instalment of which he states what India gives to Great Britain and the Empire, proposing to discuss in the next what she takes from Britain and the Empire. Referring to the material and political advantage derived by England from her connection with India, his Lordship observes :

"From her abounding population she has supplied England with labour for the exploitation of Empire lands in all parts of the globe. After the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, had it not been for the supply of Indian labour, many of the islands must have fallen out of cultivation, and would probably long before now have been transferred by cession or secession to another flag. In Trinidad there are now 86,000 East Indians and in Jamaica 10,000. With the opening of the Panama Canal, these islands will gain enormously in material and strategic value, and their continued possession will be an Imperial asset of the first importance. But for a similar relief Mauritius, where there are 206,000 East Indians, would probably have fallen to France, and British supremacy in the Indian Ocean would have been in grave peril. We should never have been able to exploit our South American colony of British Guiana without Indian labour ; the Indian population there is now 105,000 out of a total of 278,000. We have even been able to spare surplus labour for other Powers, the French in Reunion, and the Dutch in Dutch Guiana. Indian coolies have penetrated to the remote Pacific ; and the Fiji Islands contain 17,000. Africa, which from its proximity to India, supplies a natural field for Indian labour, can tell a similar tale. The planters of Natal would not have been able to develop that colony had it not been for an Indian

population, which is now 115,000 strong and exceeds in numbers the European inhabitants of the State. The Uganda Railway was constructed by more than 20,000 Indian coolies, and Indian labour was more than once sought of me by the late Cecil Rhodes. Every year an emigrant force of from 15,000 to 20,000 coolies leaves the ports of India for these distant fields. There is another side to the question also. The benefit is reciprocal, both in relief to the congestion of India and in occupation and wages to large numbers of poor men. . . . To South Africa I sent out in the Boer campaign 13,200 British officers and men from the British Army in India, and 9,000 natives, principally followers. To China we despatched from India 1,300 British officers and men, 20,000 native troops and 17,500 native followers. Nor were these mercenary forces employed against their will to fight the battles of a distant Government. Not a war can take place in any part of the British Empire in which the Indian Princes do not come forward with voluntary offers of armed assistance ; and the fact that the native army was not allowed to stand by the side of the British in repelling the Boer invasion of Natal in 1899 was actually made the subject of attacks upon the Government in India—so keenly was the popular sentiment in favour of Indian participation aroused. I was in India throughout the South African and Chinese wars. Though not far short of 30,000 troops, British and Indian, were at one time away from the country, perfect tranquillity prevailed ; and while the inveterate foes of England may have sneered at the early reverses to our arms, there could be no question of the genuineness of the rejoicings when the tide turned and the news of victory was flashed along the wires."

Lord Curzon then proceeds to deal with the question of our business relations. "India," he says, "has become the largest producer of food and raw material in the Empire and the principal granary of Great Britain, the imports into the United Kingdom of wheat, meal, and flour from India exceeding those of Canada and being double those of Australia. At the same time, India is the largest purchaser of British produce and manufactures, and notably of cotton goods. Moreover, it must be remembered that under the existing system, English cotton manufactures imported into India pay a duty only of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., a countervailing excise duty of equivalent amount being at the same time levied on Indian manufactures."

To Lord Curzon, however, "it is less in its material than in its moral and educative aspects that India has always appeared to confer so incomparable a boon upon the British race. No

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one now taunts the British aristocracy with treating India as a playground for its sons. There is not much play there for the Government official at any time, and, such as he is, he is drawn from all classes of the British community. Just as the Indian Army is to the young subaltern the finest available school of manhood and arms, so also the Indian Civil Service is a training ground for British character that is not without its effect both upon the Empire and the race. The former service is demonstrated by the constant drain upon India for irrigation officers and engineers, for postal and telegraph and forest officers, for financiers and administrators all over the world. The men whom she has trained are to be encountered in regions as far apart as Nigeria and China, the Cape and Siam. They are among the administrative pioneers of the Empire. To those officers of the Civil Service who never leave the country no such field of adventure opens. But India develops in them the sense of duty and a spirit of self-sacrifice, as well as faculties of administration and command which are among the greatest glories of the British race. Acting and not talking, working and not boasting, they pursue their silent and often unknown careers, bequeathing a tradition to their families which is sometimes perpetuated for generations and leaving a permanent and wholesome imprint on the national character."

But although Lord Curzon is never tired of describing India as the "brightest jewel in the British Empire," he does it for no better object than to prefer an appeal to the Imperialistic instincts of Britain to rise equal to the necessity of keeping India as a perpetual dependency of England and with that end in view to tighten her grip over India more firmly than ever. This policy he elucidated in an admirable way in course of his recent speech at the annual Indian Civil Service Dinner, held in London last month. Lord Curzon, as a strenuous advocate of personal rule as the best form of administration suited to the East, sneers at any attempt to make the Government of India or its agents responsible in any way to the people of whose interests they profess to be the guardians and blames the recent reforms which seek to place the administrators under the vigilant eye of the representatives of the Indian people. After paying a high tribute to the Indian Civil Service, Lord Curzon defends them against the charge of want of sympathy with the people in the following words :—

"It is the fault of the system which he serves, of the Government under which he works, of the Secretary of State who is always calling upon him to answer questions, and of the House of Com-

mons which is always bullying the Secretary of State into making those inquiries.....The conditions in India are changing very much and that the position of the civilian is not now what it was.....In the first place it is a matter of common knowledge that there is not the same scope in India that there used to be for independent initiative and action.....A civilian constantly referring for orders along the wire to his superior and the superior still more constantly sending down orders to him—you can quite understand that the old world of independent initiative, origination, and action has to a certain extent and inevitably passed away. But there is a second point of difference. As government in India becomes more complex, so also it becomes less personal, and to that extent perhaps less humane and less feeling. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the extent to which the modern standards of administration, particularly in such departments as sanitation, education, and the like have increased the burdens and to that degree encroached upon the leisure of the civilian in India. In the old days he used to be riding about the country ; he is now much more often writing than riding. In the old days you used to hear of him sitting outside his tent dispensing patriarchal justice to those who sought him ; now-a-days he is more likely to be inside the tent writing up his reports. I shudder to think of the gallons of ink—futile and unnecessary ink—that are poured forth in India every year."

His lordship then holds the recent reforms in the Indian Legislative Councils responsible for putting greater burdens upon the Civil Service for the following reasons :—

"Hitherto they have had to satisfy the curiosity of the British Parliament, which, from a remote distance, has shown a certain parental interest in their welfare ; now they will have to satisfy the demands of a number of local Parliaments, whose interest will be even keener and will not perhaps be equally parental. They will no doubt be subject to a scrutiny of their official acts and conduct even closer than that to which they have been accustomed, and I dare say they will be exposed to an invective even coarser than that with which they have hitherto been assailed."

The ex-Viceroy of India then proceeds to express his regret at "the apparent falling off in the attractiveness of the Indian career, in recent years, to the best products of our older English universities"—a fact over which he seems to wax very warm :—

"Figures seem to show that whereas a few years ago—eight or ten years ago—at least half of the men who took the highest places in examinations opted for the Indian career, now the proportion of

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those who do so is less than one-third. I have also seen in the Indian papers cases in which civilians have retired from the country as soon as they reached the *minimum* period of service and sometimes before they have qualified for their pension. These, I think, are serious symptoms. They are symptoms to which we cannot be indifferent, symptoms which ought to be recommended to the careful attention of any Government and any Secretary of State..... While our rule in India depends upon many things, as we are often told, upon sympathy, kindness, and conciliation, perhaps also to an equal degree, upon courage and strength, yet it also depends in a higher degree than any upon our possession, our continued possession, in India of a capable, a contented, and an efficient Civil Service. You can only maintain British rule in India if the instruments by which you do it are the best which this country can produce. You can only have good government in India for the peoples of India—and, after all, that is the object for which we are in the country—if your administration is efficient..... The one hope, or at any rate, the main hope, of the poor millions of India, does not lie in the House of Commons, or the Secretary of State, or even in the Government of India, but it lies in the individual Englishman, the member of the Civil Service, who is responsible for the charge of the district in which they live. They are much more likely to look to him for their patronage and protection than they are even to the voluble speaker of their own race, who cuts a big figure on the platform. Therefore I say never take your eyes away from the standard of the Civil Service in India, because as long as that standard remains high your rule in India will be popular and successful, whereas, if the standard of the Civil Service declines, the power and prestige of your rule will decline in the same proportion. I should like to submit to you what may at first sight seem a paradox, but what I believe to be profoundly true—namely, that the more posts you open to Indians in the country the greater the need for maintaining the high standard in the Civil Service. I say so for this reason—if I may adopt a military metaphor—the smaller the garrison with which you occupy a country, the greater need that it should consist of picked men.”

But our ex-Viceroy “firmly hopes” that the recent anarchical developments are “merely a transient symptom of Indian politics” and he does not believe that “if the fear of enteric or other cognate complaints has never deterred the young British soldier from going to India, the fear of the weapon of the misguided assassin would keep away a single high-minded, high-spirited young English gentleman from

going to India." He attributes the cause of the falling off of attractiveness for the Indian Civil Service to Englishmen to the following changes in the Indian situation :

" There is the rise in prices in India, the increasing cost of house rents, the augmented charges for education—all of which make it rather more difficult than in former days for the civilian to make both ends meet. Then, in proportion as more places are found for natives of India in the Administration—and I am the last person to complain of that because that seems to me to be not only an inevitable, but a just, concomitant of our rule—but in proportion as more places are found for Indians so fewer opportunities will be left open to the European. Sometimes, too, circumstances have occurred in recent years—in which there has been a temporary block in promotion.....I do not know whether it is a combination of these various causes—I hope, if it be so, it is a temporary and accidental combination—that has led to the apparent falling off in the attractiveness of the Indian career, in recent years, to the best products of our older English Universities."

Lord Curzon has some words of advice to this 'heaven-born' Service as well as its masters :—

" Do not ever let the idea get into the Civil Service in India that it does not much matter what they are doing, that the tide is setting against British administration in India, that it is turning against any exhibition of courage or independence or strength, that, on the whole, it is better for them to swim with the tide rather than against it, and to clear out when their work is done. I say that is a pernicious, a fatal, a disastrous idea. If you have a listless or an apathetic Civil Service in India you will have an incompetent Civil Service. If you take away the ideals of the service you will take away its character at the same time. I hope that anybody in authority who ever speaks or writes about India will continue to impress upon the Civil Service of that country that they are engaged now, as they have been for a hundred years, in doing the greatest, the biggest, the noblest, and the grandest task in the world, and that, in proportion as they discharge this duty, not with mere perfunctory correctness, but with living enthusiasm, so will they be judged and rewarded by the Government which they serve. Now, the second point is this, I think the Civil Service, and every member of the Civil Service, ought to feel that, while the Government exercises a close scrutiny over his acts, punishing him or censuring him for anything that he does wrong, at the same time it will support him to the uttermost in everything that he does

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for the best and that he will not at any time, in deference to considerations, either of Parliamentary expediency or of local popularity, be thrown to the wolves. As long as a civilian is doing good work for Britian, I say that the arm of Britain ought to be behind him. I say, therefore, that it rests with Government—with the provincial Governments in the first place, with the Government of India in India, and with the Government and the Secretary of State at home, to keep up the standard and to invigorate the hearts of their Civil servants in that country. It is all very well to claim that they should have confidence in the Government. That is true, and that is all right, but let the Government have confidence in them."

NOTES ON SELF-RULE IN THE EAST

The learned editor of *The Modern Review* makes some well-chosen selections of authoritative opinions as evidence of the existence of self-government in ancient Asia, with special reference to India. After proving the existence in ancient Turkey and Afganistan of a form of republican government which he choses to call 'self-rule,' the writer deals with the system of government that prevailed here and there in ancient India. Mr. Chatterjee quotes the following extract from an article by Dr. R. G. Bhandarker, who, the writer aptly observes, is not a political agitator :

"The Indian Aryans had, like their European brethren, the rudiments of free political institutions. When Kshatriya tribes settled in a province, the name of the tribe in the place became the name of the province, and the Panchalas, Angas, Vangas, Vrijis, etc., collectively became identified with the countries in which they lived. And actually the existence of aristocratic republics is alluded to in Buddhist Pali books. But the rudiments of free political institutions did not grow in India ; and no passion for national unity strong enough to trample under foot the germs of caste was developed, while the latter had a very luxuriant growth, with the results that we at present see. Why did the instinct of political freedom and a passion for national unity not grow in India while they did among the Aryan races of Europe ? Probably the cause is to be sought in the rigidly despotic and tyrannical manner in which the conquering Aryas treated the subject races. *One section of a community, especially if it be small, cannot continue to enjoy freedom if it rigidly denies it to the other and larger section, and cannot have the desire to be united with it by the national tie if it invariably*

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despises the other as an inferior race, and denies it the ordinary rights of man."

Mr. Chatterji does well in confining himself to not only Indian authorities but goes to the length of quoting several observations of European historians on the subject. Dr. Hoernle said in course of a speech in 1898 :

"Vaisali, the modern Besarh, about 27 miles north of Patna, had a curious political constitution ; it was an oligarchic republic ; its government was vested in a Senate, composed of the heads of the resident Kshatriya clans, presided over by an officer who had the title of king and was assisted by a Viceroy and a Commander-in-chief."

Mr. Vincent A. Smith observes on the subject in his *Early History of India* :

"The settled country between the Himalaya mountains and the Narbada river was divided into a multitude of independent states, some monarchies, and some tribal republics, owning no allegiance to any paramount power, secluded from the outer world, and free to fight among themselves....." The Panjab, Eastern Rajputana, and Malwa for the most part were in possession of tribes or clans living under republican institutions. The Yaudheya tribe occupied both banks of the Sutlaj, while the Madrakas held the central parts of the Panjab. In Alexander's time these regions were similarly occupied by autonomous tribes, then called the Malloi, Kathaioi, and so forth."

Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids says on the subject in his *Budhist India* :—

"The administrative and judicial business of the (Sakya) clan was carried out in public assembly, at which young and old were alike present, in their common Mote Hall (*Santhagara*) at Kapilavastu. It was at such a parliament or palavar, that King Pasenadi's proposition was discussed. When Ambattha goes to Kapilavastu on business, he goes to the Mote Hall where the Sakiyas were then in session. And it is to the Mote Hall of the Mallas that Ananda goes to announce the death of the Buddha, they being then in session there to consider that very matter. A new Mote Hall, built at Kapilavastu, was finished whilst the Buddha was staying at the Nigrodharama (the pleasure under the Banyan Grove) in the Great Wood (the Mahavana) near by. This jungle [Mahavana] was infested from time to time by robbers, some times runaway slaves. But we hear of no crime, and there was not probably very much, in the villages themselves—each of them a tiny self-governed republic.

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.....A late tradition tells us how the criminal law was administered in the adjoining powerful confederate clan of the Vajjians, by a succession of regularly appointed officers—"justices, lawyers, rehearsers of the law maxims, the council of representatives of the eight clans, the general, the vice-consul, and the consul himself."

Summing up the above authoritative opinions, Mr. Chatterji concludes :

"The extracts from various authors given above show that republics existed in India, that they existed at least as early as the days of Buddha and Mahavira (sixth century B.C.) and as late as the reign of Samudragupta (fourth century A.D.), and that they were situated in the extensive tract of country stretching from the Panjab to Bihar and from Nepal to the southern borders of the Central Provinces. So the republican form of government in ancient India had a duration of at least one thousand years. We know of no other country, ancient or modern, where democracy has prevailed for a longer period. In ancient Italy the republic of Rome lasted for five hundred years. In ancient Greece the republic of Athens lasted for a little more than three hundred years. And these countries, which in ancient times were dotted over with small republics, are certainly not as extensive as the part of India which in olden days could boast of many republics. As for achievements, the history of these Indian republics is too little known to enable us to say anything positive on the subject. But we suppose the fact that they gave to the world a Buddha and a Mahavira will not even in these jingo and materialistic days be considered unworthy of being blazoned in letters of gold in the pages of history."

SOME BIHARI MODES OF TRIAL BY ORDEAL

Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra relates *Some interesting Bihari Modes of Trial by Ordeal* in the July number of the *Calcutta Review*. Mr. Mitra traces the origin of belief in such trials to two facts :

"Firstly, to the superstitious belief in the possibility of receiving Divine aid and, secondly, to the absence, among most of the ancients, of a system of jurisprudence prescribing rules for the recording of evidence and a well-defined procedure for enquiring into and adjudicating upon the guilt or innocence of the accused."

The writer then shows by citing instances from history that such trials existed in more or less absurd forms in England and other European countries in olden times. But in India it received sanction of so great a Hindu lawgiver as Yajnavalkya, who lays down

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several modes of trials by ordeals in his *Dharmasastra* some of which are still in vogue in some parts of Behar. Some of these the writer describes in this article as follows :—

(a) Red-hot Iron Ordeal :— $2\frac{1}{2}$ *pipal* leaves are placed on the hand of the person undergoing the ordeal, which are tied on with *kachchi* (unspun) thread ; and on the leaves so tied is placed a red-hot *ramma* (or rod of iron). With the red-hot iron so placed on his hand, the accused has to walk 7 paces. If his hand should not get burnt after walking 7 paces, he will be regarded as speaking the truth.

(b) Water Ordeal :—The person undergoing the ordeal has to dive under water and remain under it ; while another man should start from a place (where a flag has been planted) and run 80 paces to the goal-point where a flag has been planted, pluck the goal-flag, run back to the starting-point and pluck the flag at the last-mentioned place. If the accused should remain under water until the 80 paces have been covered, he will have proved his innocence.

(c) A third Bihari mode of trial by ordeal is that of the brass bowl. In this method, the accused persons place their hands upon a brass bowl, over which incantations are then pronounced by a priest. Then the brass bowl is said to move and stop just in front of the man who is really guilty.

Closely akin to the Bihari mode of trial by the brass bowl is the ordeal by the teapot which is in vogue in Kashmir. In this latter mode of trial, a teapot is held loosely suspended ; and the persons suspected of having committed the offence have to put their fingers under the rim thereof. The name of each suspected person is written on a piece of paper which, being rolled up into a scroll, is inserted into the spout of the teapot. When the paper inscribed with the name of the real culprit is inserted into the vessel, it is said that the latter immediately gives a sign, *i.e.*, makes a movement.

(d) There is a fourth Bihari ordeal. It is chiefly resorted to by the Mahamadans of Bihar. The names of the suspected persons are written out on bits of paper which are rolled up and thrown into a small *chatty*. Just as the inscribed papers are thrown in, two of the suspected men hold the neck or brim of the vessel with the tips of their fingers, amid the chanting of *suras* or passages from the *Koran*. It is said that, if the slip of paper inscribed with the name of the real culprit is thrown into the *chatty*, the vessel immediately will swerve round, which movement gives a clue to the detection of the actual offender.

(e) A fifth Bihari ordeal is known as the *charyari*. It derives its

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name from the square Muhammadan silver coin called *charyari rupiya*, which is said to be inscribed with the names of the four friends of Muhammad. Rice is weighed out with this coin ; and a rupee's weight of the same is given to each of the suspected persons who are called upon to swallow the same. It is said that the real culprit finds it difficult to chew and gulp down the rice inasmuch as his tongue, becoming dry out of sheer funk, fails to secrete the quantity of saliva required for mastication. The guilty man is "spotted" from these indications. This ordeal, Mr. Mitra thinks, is based upon a shrewd knowledge of human nature and of physiological laws.

"It is very difficult to explain," Mr. Mitra observes, "the origin of the Bihari ordeal by the brass-bowl unless we accept the tentative hypothesis that there must be some occult power in the priest's incantations which causes the vessel to move and stop just in front of the guilty person."

In the red-hot iron ordeal why, of all other trees, the leaves of the Pipal Tree are selected is explained by the writer in the following manner :

"Since the Sutra Period, the Hindus have ascribed sanctity to this tree. In the *Gobhila Grihya Sutra*, the *Ashwattha* or the Pipal is described as a tree presided over by *Aditya*, who is identified by Yaska with Vishnu. In later times, therefore, the *Ashwattha* came to be regarded as a tree specially sacred to Vishnu, and so Krishna declares himself in the *Bhagavat Gita* to be the *Ashwattha* amongst all trees. To plant an *Ashwattha* tree is regarded as an act of piety, and to destroy one by cutting a great sin. The latter-day Hindus consider the Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*) and the Bar or Banyan (*F. indica*) to be the favourite dwelling-places of their gods, who are supposed to delight to sit among their leaves and listen to the music of their rustling, and therefore consider them to be sacred."

MODERN BURMA

Mr. John Law contributes an article on the above subject to the August number of the *Modern Review*, giving some glimpses into the inner life of Burma as it now is and as it was in its pre-British days. He describes how rapidly the country is being absorbed by the Kalas (foreigners,) and how fast the proud, lazy Burman population is succumbing to Chinese merchants, Indian coolies and English tradesmen ; and there is a good deal of pathos

in the writer's observations that "some great painter should visit Burma and preserve for coming generations the Burman type before it is lost to the world ; for the type is so pretty, light-hearted and childlike."

Mr. John Law considers it "one of the accepted fallacies about Burma that its inhabitants are wealthy." He observes :

"Few are destitute and many are comfortably off, but none are rich in the sense that Indian princes and English noblemen count riches. And, since Europeans exported rice and teak from Burma, prices there have risen considerably, and today many a Burman has to forego his canoe and tries to borrow money from Indian Chetties. In fact laws have been made to prevent the land of Burma from passing rapidly into the hands of foreigners."

The writer, however, accounts for the absence of the acuteness of poverty in Burma in the following manner :

"The truth is that any destitute man, woman or child, in fact a whole family, can in time of need go to the nearest monastery for food, and in some cases for shelter, too. The Buddhist monks have always enough and to spare, and as each Burman boy must be received into a monastery at the age of twelve and spend at least a few days there, the monastery is a place with which all are familiar. Moreover the destitute ones, during happier and more prosperous days, gave food to the monks and will do so again when the sun once more shines on them ; so the monastic rice and curry is devoid of the bitterness that is attached to so much of this world's so-called charity."

Mr. John Law holds the system of competitive examinations responsible for one of the causes of the ruin of Burma, and observes :

"Competition entered Burma with competitive examinations, and competition is spoiling Burma, because the Burman character cannot adapt itself to competitive methods."

But much of poverty and misery the writer traces to their indolent habits and some peculiar traits of character which he relates in the following terms :—

"The Burman does not hoard his money. If he has one hundred rupees, he gives away eighty and spends twenty on himself. But his generosity is selfish. He builds and gilds a pagoda or feeds Buddhist priests in order to gain merit ; and he will not combine with others in building and giving because he wants to have all the merit for himself. He believes that his presents to Buddha and Buddhist monks will ensure for him a better and happier life during his next incarnation and pave his way to Nirvana, so he will

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not combine with his neighbours for charitable purposes ; and when he is asked to assist a public hospital or something of that sort, he says : "The Government takes a great deal of money from me in taxes. Let the Government pay for these things....." The Burman character has, no doubt, been moulded by the religion of Buddha. The Burman is petulant and hasty—like a child—but his religion teaches him to kill neither man nor animal, so he cannot be a soldier, a hunter, a butcher or a fisherman. Some Burmans are fishermen ; but it is understood that they will re-incarnate as animals and spend a weary time before entering Nirvana. As the Burman may not kill, he "lifts" fishes out of the water and leaves them to dry on land, and when the fishes become putrid, he makes a kind of paste, called Ng'pee, which causes sores to appear on his body and brings to him a variety of illnesses. Now-a-days many Burmans eat meat ; but they will not kill a chicken, much less a sheep, and in the market they turn away from fish that is alive and buy dead fish.....There is among Buddhist none of the "missionary" spirit that induces men to look after the future of others. A Buddhist thinks of himself, he is kind and charitable in order to help himself, and we find in him little desire to benefit his fellow-men and no ambition to serve his country. There is no denying that a non-meat diet makes men less combative than a diet largely composed of the flesh and blood of animals ; and when to this sort of diet is added the constant use of strong tobacco—and in Burma it is no uncommon thing to see a mother thrust a cigar into the mouth of an unweaned child if it cries—the result is likely to be a somewhat lethargic and indolent temperament. Burmans are proverbially lazy. Moreover they despise and refuse to do manual work unless it is connected with agriculture. In the days of the Burman Kings, it was usual for the King to plough a furrow once a year and for his Ministers to follow his example, but no King of Burma ever worked in a mill or helped to make machinery and steamboats ; so when Europeans opened mills and factories in Burma, Indians had to go there in thousands and hundreds of thousands to do coolie-work. Each Burman boy becomes a monk, if only for a few days, and during that time he has a boy-attendant who kneels to receive his orders, and he does no work at all, unless a morning stroll with a begging-bowl that is quickly filled can be called work. The life of a monk is held up to Buddhist boys as the highest life that a man can lead in this world, so if a boy does not care for work, he can become a Phongyi, which means "Great Glory," and live in a

monastery where the hours pass in eating, sleeping, chewing betel and meditating."

Referring to the daily life of the monks and nuns in Burman monasteries, Mr. Law observes :

"In the monastery the nuns, who have no chance of entering Nirvana during their incarnation as women, beg food for the monks, cook for them, and act as their servants. Their heads are shaved, they wear apricot-coloured robes, they say their beads, and often they are mistaken by tourists for monks ; indeed there is little difference between the appearance of a monk and a nun, only the former has a begging bowl attached to his waist and the latter carries the same bowl on her head. The Burman woman is modest, and it is safe to say that the priesthood leads a celibate life and the monasteries are free from moral taint. The chief fault of a Buddhist monk is imposed on him by his religion ; and that fault is laziness. He will spend an hour chewing betel, a second teasing a spider, a third sleeping, and a fourth eating, and he will believe, and the laity will believe, too, that he is on the road to Nirvana. And if an Englishman asks him what is meant by Nirvana, he says : 'The word means something that cannot be explained in English !' And if the enquiring Englishman goes to one of the Europeans who has put on the Yellow Robe and asks the same question, he is told that Nirvana is explained in Pali books and these books have not been translated yet."

Regarding the monastic system of primary education for boys and girls, our writer observes :—

"Each boy goes to a monastery school and learns to read and write in the vernacular. But the teaching given by the monks is mechanical, the boys learn like parrots and forget all they have learnt after leaving school. The monastic school is still the backbone of education in Burma ; but it is changing rapidly under English influences, and before long it will be so modernised that none will recognise it. Still in some jungle villages, the monastery school may be found untouched, by Western progress, and there may be seen fifty boys, perhaps, lying on the floor, face downwards, busy with small black-boards and soapstone pencils. A monk sits at a little distance, with closed eyes, having set the tasks ; the boys repeat their tasks aloud, in shrill voices. Having studied "The Great Basket of Learning," heard many Birth stories (stories concerning the lives of Gautama before he became a Buddha), a little grammar and a little arithmetic, the boy leaves school ; and soon he forgets all he has learnt, except prayers to be said before

images of Buddha. But he will have learnt to be gentle, kind and polite, for Buddhist monks are the best teachers of good manners in the world."

But Mr. Law points with hope to the attempt of the Government to rationalise the system of education and observes :

"For the last twenty years the Government of Burma has been introducing into the country the system of education in vogue in British India—inspectors, examinations, grants-in-aid and text-books. Burman boys go to the Rangoon College, which is affiliated to the Calcutta University, also to the American Baptist College, which is conducted on up-to-date lines. Burman women received no education until missionaries went to Burma about one hundred years ago ; and only of recent years has the Government of Burma taken any trouble about female education."

Describing the status of womankind in Burmese Society and their uncommonly flexible marriage customs Mr. Law observes :

"The Burman girl is the freest in the world. She goes where and does what she likes. She chooses her own husband and lives with him afterwards in the house of her parents until he can afford to have a home of his own. Nothing is easier than a Burman marriage. Eating together in the presence of witnesses will make two Burmans man and wife. Divorce is not much more difficult ; but it is seldom resorted to, for a Burman man is kind-hearted and easy-going and a Burman woman will put up with a good deal from her husband."

Of the Anglo-Burman marriages and the evils resulting from the same, the writer says :

"The facile nature of Burman marriage customs has a good deal to do with the Anglo-Burman connubial arrangements that are on the increase in Burma.....The English officials have now been obliged to legalize their relationships with Burman girls, but the majority of Englishmen who take to themselves Burman wives do so in the Burman way. The ambition of a Burman girl to-day is to marry an Englishman, and having done so, to associate with English ladies ; and although Burmans of the best class look upon such marriages with suspicion and say that even when the law has made them valid they are a mistake, each year sees more Anglo-Burman marriages, and, unfortunately, more Anglo-Burman children. An Anglo-Burman marriage may be all very well while husband and wife are young, and until children come into the home ; but in middle-life the Englishman finds no companionship in his Burman wife, and he is often ashamed of his Anglo-Burman children. Most

likely he takes then to drink, loses his work, and lives on some small remittance sent from England, where his family do not wish to see him ; and he receives letters from his relations hinting that if he and his belongings do not remain in Burma, the remittance will be stopped."

But the writer does not lose hope for the future of Burmese girls, and describes the possibilities of Burmese women in the following manner :—

"Female education on western lines is making rapid headway in Burma, and as Burman girls are not *purdah* and do not marry before the age of twenty-two or twenty-three, they have many opportunities and plenty of time for education. Affectionate, clever, neat and domestic are the Burman girls. . . . She is a born sales-woman, a clever trader ; and to sell something, if only a few flowers outside her father's door, is her ambition. She makes the money if an English husband go far, and she knows where to buy and how to invest money. Moreover she is devout."

The writer then wonders how Burma has become quite anglicised in so short a time, though Upper Burma has been under British rule for 20 years only and Lower Burma for about half a century. Mr. Law relates some obstacles in the economic development of Burma in the following words :—

"As Burmans will not do manual work, and all labour is highly paid, everything in Burma is very expensive—almost as expensive as on a gold-field. Many European sharpers are in the towns, especially in Rangoon, and little confidence is placed in speculation. Moreover capital is scarce and cash is almost non-existent. People who have an axe to grind in Burma may deny these facts ; but visitors will see the truth for themselves. In Burma there is no wealthy class. Burmans are too proud and too lazy to work, and imported labour is too expensive to entice outside capital to Burma."

"What will, in that case, be the future of Burma," the writer asks and concludes with the reply :

"That of Ceylon. Mining there will be left to Asiatics. The land will be the pleasure-ground of tourists. Transit on the beautiful rivers, which are the glory of the country, will be made cheaper ; and to Burma will go Anglo-Indians for a holiday, also an abundance of European and American tourists. More and more Chinamen and Indians will settle in Burma ; and Burmans will become a Buddhist legend."

The pity of it all !

THE SITUATION DISCUSSED AT SIMLA

The third meeting of the autumn session of the re-constituted Imperial Legislative Council held at Simla was made the occasion for a full-dress debate on the present political situation in India. When the Seditious Meetings Act Continuation Bill was taken up, the Hon. Messrs. Bhupendra Nath Basu and G. K. Gokhale availed themselves of the opportunity to review the situation in two very admirable speeches. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu has been a consistent and spirited opponent of repressive measures which he considers to be no good in checking sedition, unrest and political crimes ; while, Mr. Gokhale, we are glad to note, has succeeded in breaking the spell under which we have been pained to see him hypnotised for some time past, going even to the length of supporting the Government in passing a seriously retrograde measure to handicap the healthy development of a progressive press in India. Both these measures are exactly similar weapons devised to arrest the growth of independent public opinion in the country, and we do not see how one can consistently oppose the one without opposing the other also.

We however, congratulate Mr. Gokhale, on his entering a most well-reasoned protest against the extension of the Seditious Meetings Act, and he is right in considering that the situation has considerably changed for the better to justify the withdrawal of the same measure. He observed :

“As I understand the situation, what the country, taken as a whole, needs to-day above everything else, is the opportunity for things to settle down again to the normal state, and in providing this opportunity a responsibility rests as much on the Government as on the people. And in my humble judgment a proposal at a time like the present to renew even for a few months a repressive measure of such exceptional severity as the Seditious Meetings Prevention Act, when the country is comparatively quiet and is getting quieter every day, is not likely to hasten that return to a normal frame of mind on the part of the people and the Government which every true well-wisher of the country must ardently desire.”

As to the intention of the Government of placing the measure permanently under the Statute Book, Mr. Gokhale says that “it is intolerable to my mind that the whole country should be indiscriminately placed under such a Draconian Legislation” and sounds a note of despair as to the potency of the non-official voice even in the extended Council Chamber :

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"Now, my Lord, we all know that when once the Government have made up the mind to adopt a particular course nothing that the non-official members may afterwards say in the Council is practically of any avail in bringing about a change in that course."

This is delicious, coming from Mr. Gokhale !

Mr. Gokhale further points out the sufficiency of the existing laws :

"Meanwhile the Government possess in the ordinary law of the land ample powers to meet all reasonable requirements, not only for punishing but also for preventing what has been called seditious or dangerous oratory. They can prohibit meetings likely to prove dangerous to the tranquillity of the country and they can bind down individuals, and the provisions for punishing seditious utterances do not certainly err on the side of leniency. I really do not see what more is wanted if the Government are to show a reasonable regard for the elementary rights of the people."

Mr. Gokhale then expressed his apprehension as to how such powers, as are sought to be vested in the Police by this measure, are likely to be abused :

"There is no doubt however that as a class they are not trusted by the bulk of my countrymen and that innocent people often go about in dread of what they may do, and the position has grown worse since the formation of what is known as the Criminal Investigation Department. This is largely the result of two causes. First, the quality of material from which our police force is drawn, and secondly the lack of spirit of self-assertion among the people generally. The Government no doubt have of late done a good deal to secure a better type of recruits for the force, but the improvement in this respect can only be gradual. Moreover, as long as the people themselves do not know to take better care of themselves as against the police, things are bound to continue pretty much the same as they are at present. What is absolutely necessary is that the Government should not put additional powers into the hands of the police until a substantial improvement has taken place in their character and traditions."

Mr. Gokhale, who blessed the Press Act with his unqualified support in February, has seven months hence become much the wiser by the experience of the operations of that Act. It is a matter of sincere congratulation that Mr. Gokhale has seen the error of his ways and still more because he has been able to muster up sufficient courage to give expression to his sense of great disappointment at the use which the Act has been put to. Mr. Gokhale says :—

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“ If ever there was a measure which should have been administered with the utmost care and tact and restraint, it was the Press Act passed last sessions at Calcutta. This was necessary to avoid all needless irritation. It was also due to those non-official members of this Council who in their desire to avoid the difficulties and anxieties with which the Government have been confronted, tried to go as far as they could in support of the measure. I grieve to say, however, that in most provinces this obvious consideration has not been kept in view. In working the Act I will not now refer to those cases in which security was demanded from old concerns when they presented themselves for a mere formal change in their registration, in spite of distinct pledges to the contrary given both in the Statement of Objects and Reasons and in the speeches of Members of Government in this Council. It was no doubt the result of what must be regarded as defective drafting, and I am glad to note that it has now been set right to a great extent by the executive action on the part of Government, but there have been cases in which heavy securities have been demanded from old concerns without specifying what their offence was and for some time past, a regular sedition hunt has been going on in some of the provinces. Hardly a day now passes when some obscure sheet or pamphlet or old book is not dragged forth from oblivion and notified first by one provincial Government and then by another as forfeit to the authorities. Now much of this is, to my mind, altogether futile and it only tends to keep the Press Act in unnecessary and unpleasant prominence before the country. I think the exceptional powers conferred by the Press Act should be very sparingly drawn upon and then too to meet only serious cases of objectionable and dangerous writing. I do not deny that the Act has exercised a restraining influence in some quarters where such influence was most necessary. But as against this, we must place the irritation that is being continuously caused in the country owing to the feeling that the Act is being harshly or unjustly applied.....Had anybody told me before the pamphlet (Mr. Mackerness's) was proscribed that the Government contemplated applying the provisions of the Press Act to it, I should have declined to believe the statement. And now the pamphlet has actually been proscribed, I can only regard the action with deep humiliation and pain.”

Mr. Gokhale concluded his able protest with the following statesman-like counsel to the government :

“ Not the heavy hand of coercion, but the gentle touch of con-

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ciliation and sympathy, of forbearance and oblivion—that is what the situation requires and I earnestly trust their healing influences will be forthcoming in ample measure to obliterate again bitter memories and start the country on a career of prosperity and progress.”

Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu began his able protest with an interesting retrospect of the political situation in India during the last five years ; and, like Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Basu is convinced of the sufficiency of the ordinary law and of the fact that the atmosphere is distinctly clearing. A happy blending of warmth with pathos, clear and clever statements of facts, and freshness of illustrations characterise Mr. Basu’s speech which, in any democratic assembly of the world where the members do not meet only “to play the part in a Greek Tragedy,” would certainly have created quite a different impression.

Mr. Basu argued the sufficiency of the ordinary laws by pointing to the deterrent effect of the severity with which political offenders are dealt with at present and described as follows their hard lot :

“The political offender in India is treated as a felon, put to hard and degrading work to which he was never used, the punishment in his case being thus harder than that of the ordinary criminal accustomed to hard work ; he is sometimes flogged and has been known to be dragged in chains through crowded streets. I believe this last method is adopted as an instrument of public humiliation. I may say at once, my Lord, from my place in your Lordship’s Council that these degradations only serve to excite public sympathy, that the very severity of the punishment makes the people overlook the heinousness of the offence ; it is an ordinary experience in human ethics. Let those, who inflict these punishments, bear in mind, that nothing is better calculated to make martyrs and heroes of men convicted of political offence, and if there is no profanation in the reference I am about to make, let them not forget that one whom the greater part of the civilized world adores to-day was made to carry his own cross through the streets of Jerusalem and to put on a Crown of thorns.”

Mr. Basu then proceeded to describe the dangers that might result “specially to a bureaucracy” from the suppression of public opinion. He went on to say :

“The right of free criticism of Government measures is so valuable an auxiliary to good government that the fundamental laws of the constitution of some countries expressly preserve to the citizen the right ‘to speak the thing he will.’ In England the

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right has existed from the time of the early Plantagenets. I take the liberty to quote from a political writer of undisputed authority. Sidgwick says : ' It is an important practical security for freedom of political utterance that man shall not be prevented from writing and publishing what he likes by any interference before the act of an executive official but only restrained by the dread of punishment. It is indeed indispensable to maintain this security if we are to get the advantage of free criticism of the acts of the executive ; since the question, whether such criticism has kept within legal limits laid down for it, is too delicate a one to be left to the judgment of the persons criticised.' My Lord, if freedom of speech is so necessary in countries having a homogeneous government, it is absolutely indispensable under a system of government such as we have, the government by a bureaucracy, the members of which, mostly recruited from outside, must necessarily for a long time at least continue to be ignorant of the thoughts, the feelings and the sentiments of the people they govern, and are thus naturally liable to commit errors which an indigenous bureaucracy would avoid. My Lord, I shall not repeat the commonplace of sitting on the safety-valve ; British rule in India is too firmly established to allow sedition being driven underground. But is it too much to say that the heart-beat of the people can only be audible to Government through their public speakers ?"

The Honourable Member from Bengal pressed the probable effect of such legislation to the attention of the Government in the following beautiful words :—

" Instead of an India under a dead swoon, irresponsive and silent, it is better that you should feel the throbbing of the pulse, better that you should feel the movement of the heart. Do you want, my Lord, that there shall be the silence of the grave between the people and the Government, that the great heart of the nation shall be buried in some dark subterranean vault lighted only through the coloured slides of the Criminal Investigation Department ? Do you want, my Lord, that the Government should be shut up in some prison, like prince Siddhartha, from whom all knowledge of the world was sought to be shut out, before he became the Buddha ? I hope not, I trust not. My Lord, I am afraid I have spoken with some degree of warmth, but the effects of the recent legislation are too patent for me to keep silent. If the suppression of the independence of the Press and the platform could bring the millennium to India, then certainly we should all support it. You know, my Lord, just as much as I do, that it will

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not have that effect, you cannot overtake the heels of time, you cannot harness the thoughts of men ; you can no more suppress the swelling forces that are rising around us than did the old English King the surging billows of the sea."

With a very touching appeal to the Viceroy, Mr. Basu concluded his beautiful address :

" I feel like one who sees the impending blow which he cannot avert. But, my Lord, I am not without hope. I trust, my Lord, that good shall fall,

At last—far off—at last, to all,
And every winter change to spring.

" May I venture to recall to the memory of the Council the famous passage in St Paul's second epistle to the Corinthians ? ' We look not at the things which are seen but at the things which are not seen ; for the things which are seen are temporal but the things which are not seen are eternal.' My Lord, we Hindus, cradled in the religion of the Vedanta and the Upanishads, we too look forward to the things which are not seen. We feel what was so beautifully expressed in India in days long gone by—we feel that the law we are enacting to-day is but a ripple in the wave of time, and will pass away. Otherwise, my Lord, knowing that our voice was feeble and ineffectual, I should not have come all these thousand miles to record my humble protest. For the day, the defeat is ours, but my Lord,

'The races rise and cluster,
The evils fade and fall,
Till chaos blooms to beauty
God's purpose crowning all.' "

LORD MORLEY'S FIFTH UNDER-SECRETARY ON INDIA

Since Lord (then Mr. John) Morley took over charge of India Office at Whitehall, he has had as many as five Parliamentary under-secretaries to assist him in the governance of this country. One by one all have dropped after putting about a twelve months' work apiece till it has fallen to a young man of thirty-one to explain Indian affairs to the House of Commons. Mr. John Ellis—a Quaker by birth—found it an uncongenial work to support the Indian policy of Mr. John Morley, resigned his office, and retired to the back benches. To him succeeded Mr. Hobhouse who was soon

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translated to a wider sphere of action as the secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Buchanan stepped into Mr. Hobhouse's shoes, and, being a rather old man, found the heckling of the Parliamentary friends of India a too severe strain upon his poor constitution. The fourth under-secretary was Mr. Murray, better known as the Master of Elibank, who bore with perfect equanimity all the badgering which Messrs. Cotton, Rutherford, Mackarness, Keir Hardie and Company could put him under. This year, Mr. Montagu, a young man of 31 and son of a banker-peer, has taken up the office of the Indian under-secretary and reviewed before the House of Commons the political situation in India from the India Office point of view.

Mr. Montagu's speech on the last Indian Budget in the British House of Commons is an apt illustration of the sorry attempts often made by liberal politicians at the helm of Indian affairs to reconcile liberal platitudes to the reactionary policy they have to pursue in India either of their own initiative or owing to pressure from the men-on-the-spot.

Speaking on the political unrest in India, Mr. Montagu began by enlightening the House of the immense difficulties in the governance of a country like India, with its vastness of extent containing an enormous population composed of innumerable castes and creeds, and by asking his audience to remember that although "recent changes in the Indian attitude are confined to a very small portion of the population,.....the amount of yeast necessary to leaven a loaf is very small and when the majority have no ideas or views the opinion of the educated minority is the most prominent fact in the situation."

Mr. Montagu exhorted the scare-mongers not to get impatient of the Indian unrest and gives a genesis of the same in the following words :—

"May I say how strange it seems to me that a progressive people like the English should be surprised at unrest ! You welcome it in Persia, commend it enthusiastically in Turkey, partonise it in China and Japan, and are impatient of it in Egypt and India ! Whatever was your object in touching the ancient civilisation of the Indian Empire, whatever was the reason for British occupation, it must have been obvious that you could not bring Eastern civilisation into contact with Western without disturbing its serenity, without infusing new ingredients, without, in a word, causing unrest. And when you undertook the government of the country, when, further, you deliberately embarked on a policy of educating the peoples

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on Western lines, you caused the unrest because you wished to colour Indian ideals with Western aspirations. When you came into India you found that the characteristic of Indian thought was an excessive reverence for authority. The scholar was thought to accept the assurance of his spiritual teacher with unquestioning reverence ; the duty of the subject was passive obedience to the ruler ; the usages of society were invested with a divine sanction which it was blasphemy to question. To a people so blindly obedient to authority the teaching of European, and particularly of English thought, was a revolution. English literature is saturated with the praise of liberty, and it inculcates the duty of private and independent judgment upon every man. We have always been taught, and we all believe that every man should judge for himself, and that no authority can relieve him of the obligation of deciding for himself the great issues of right or wrong.

"The Indian mind was at first revolted at this doctrine, then one or two here and there were converted to it. They became eager missionaries of the new creed of private judgment and independence, and the consequence is that a new spirit is abroad wherever English education has spread, which questions all established beliefs and calls for orthodoxy, either political, social, economic, or religious, to produce its credentials. We are not concerned here, except in so far as they are important causes of political unrest, with either religious or social unrest. It is not necessary for me to do more than state the platitude that religious unrest produces among those who have experienced it political results. There can be no departure from religious orthodoxy without its being accompanied by its fierce reaction to orthodoxy. Side by side with the unrest produced directly by English example comes the indirect result of a religious revival. The activities of those who are questioning the teaching they have inherited call into action those who fiercely combat the new religious heterodoxies, abominate the Western example producing them, emphasise the fundamental and, they say, the unconquerable differences between the east and west, and demand freedom from alien influences. These two counter-forces—the reform movement and the survival that opposes it—involve not only those directly affected, but their parents, relations, and friends, and cause political and social unrest.

"Viewed broadly, India may be said to be passing from the stage of society in which agricultural and domestic industries of the cottage order have predominated, in which each village has been

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an isolated community, and each individual attached to a particular spot and hereditary occupation, to the stage of organised over-seas commerce and capitalised industry. As yet the transition is visible only in a few exceptional districts, where factories or coal-mining have taken hold, and in the maritime cities through which the commerce of India to other countries pours. Indirectly, the whole continent is affected: the demand for labour of the industrial centres penetrates to the most secluded villages, raising the local wage rates, and increasing the farmer's wage bill. The demand of foreign countries for the food grains, the oil seeds, the cotton and the jute of India raises local prices, widens the cultivator's market, and changes the crops he grows. The competition of machine-made goods with hand-loom industry impoverishes the village weaver, or converts him into a mill hand and drives him into a town.

"Of the three movements—the religious movement, the social movement, and the economic movement—each produces its quota of political unrest, and the counter-movements of those who abominate the new teaching, resent the alteration of the time-honoured social customs, dislike any departure from orthodox religion, question the teaching that produces it and also show resentment to those who teach it. All these three things together make that curious, differently produced, force in India which is known as political unrest. It would be very surprising indeed if the religious and social reform movements, such as I have described together with the opposition to them, the desire for economic trade, the tendency to preserve uneconomic and ancient industries, together with the spread of education and the growth of the Native Press, the fermentation of new ideas stopped short of the political sphere. Of all forms of liberty England has always shown the most zealous solicitude for political liberty, and I think we can regard political unrest in India as being but the manifestation of a movement of Indian thought which has been inspired, directly or indirectly, by English ideals, to which the English and the Government of India themselves gave the first impetus. It is constantly being nourished by English education given in Government schools and colleges. In so far as this political unrest is confined to pressing the Government to popularise the Government of the country, so far as the conditions of India will permit, I do not believe that anybody in this House will quarrel with it. You cannot give to the Indians western education from carefully chosen and carefully selected teachers, trained either in Europe or in India, you cannot

give to the Indians western education either in Europe or in India and then turn round and refuse to those whom you have educated the right, the scope, or the opportunity to act and think as you have taught them to do. If you do, it seems to me that you must cause another kind of unrest, more dangerous than any other among those bitterly dissatisfied and disappointed with the results of their education, who use methods which have been taught them in Western countries to vent their disappointment. For this reason, it seems to me, if I may say so, that the condition of India at the moment is one which, handled well, contains the promise of a completer justification of British rule ; handled ill, is bound to lead to chaos. English thought may be responsible for the fundamental principle of revolt against authority, but it cannot be responsible for all the changes which that principle has undergone in its adaptation to Oriental environment. It would be absurd to suppose that old beliefs can be unseated and old usages altered without some element of danger. There have been recently in India manifestations of political unrest with which no one can sympathise, and with regard to which difference of opinion is not legitimate. There have been assassinations and conspiracies to murder ; there have been incitements to violence in the Press ; there have been attempts to create hatred against certain sections of His Majesty's subjects. If this pernicious unrest was allowed to spread it would result in wide-spread misery and anarchy ; it would produce a state of things in India which would be more inimical to progress than even the most stringent coercion. It would bring chaos, from which society would seek refuge in a military dictatorship. For these reasons, if the Government was prevented from doing its duty in preventing this, it seems to me it would be a great step backwards and a tragedy in history."

Mr. Montagu admits that there has been during recent months "a revulsion of Indian opinion in British favour" and credits Lord Morley's policy of repression and conciliation with achieving the same results. He observes :

"True statesmanship, it seems to me, ought to be directed towards separating legitimate from illegitimate unrest. The permanent safeguard must be a systematic government, which realises the elements of good as well as the elements of danger, and which suppresses criminal extravagances with inflexible sternness. His Majesty's Government, acting upon this principle, are determined to arm and to assist the Indian Government in its unflinching war against sedition and illegitimate manifestations of unrest, while it

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shows an increasingly sympathetic and encouraging attitude towards legitimate aspirations."

Lord Morley's fifth under-secretary then proceeds to put up at great length a defence of the Press Act and its 'equitable administration,' in course of which he throws an ominous hint at the Government's intention of placing the Seditious Meetings Act permanently in the Indian Statute Book :

"I believe that the Act, taken in conjunction with the Seditious Meetings Act, will complete the armour necessary, so far as one can foresee, for the repression of the campaign of calumny and of sedition. It will, at any rate, prevent that horrible form of sedition-mongering, which consists in disseminating cruel mis-statements among young boys at school, determining what is sedition."

Referring to the Indian Police, the worthy lieutenant of Lord Morley, however, confesses to their many defects and lays much store by the reorganization scheme inaugurated by Lord Curzon and points to the "marked improvement" that has been effected as a result of the same. Mr. Mantagu of course could not let such an occasion to pass without falling foul of Mr. Mackarness for his merciless exposition of the vices of the Indian Police. The newest under-secretary for India says :

"To point out defects in the police force, if it is considered that they still require pointing out, and to suggest new remedies and palliatives which have not yet been discovered, if there be such, is useful work, demanding the sympathy of all men, but to collect instances of abuse many unproved, some proved to be false, to take quotations from their context and garble them, to represent as findings of a Commission what is merely report of popular opinion, to quote a statement of an interested party as being 'an account of what happened in the very words of the official resolution,' to say that the Indian Government has never prohibited torture, when it is punishable with seven years' penal servitude, to ignore any Government action, to stop these abuses, and to represent the Government as ignorant or supine, callous, and tolerant of bad practices, I say, whether this be the work of a Hindu agitator or an ex-Member of Parliament, it is seditious, dangerous, and ought to be stopped."

As the contents of Mr. Mackarness' pamphlet form the subject of a case now pending in the Calcutta High Court, we refrain to offer any comments upon it at this stage.

The under-secretary for India then urged the necessity of improved educational methods to deal with "the root causes" of the

Indian unrest and described the repressive measures as dealing only with the manifestations or symptoms, thereof, and he sketched the measures adopted by the present Government under the following heads : (1) The appointment of an educational adviser to Indian Students at the India Office ; (2) the appointment of an Advisory Committee ; (3) the provision of a house for the National Indian Association and the Northbrook Society for the purpose of a joint club house and (4) the appointment in India of a new member for education in the Viceroy's Executive Council to secure a coherent policy towards education and to control the expenditure of money allotted for this purpose. He further went on to elaborate this scheme :

“ We must make the teaching more practical, encourage and extend technical instruction, for which there is a great demand, supervise and improve the hostels. The educational system now in existence has undoubtedly been successful in purifying the judicial service. It is capable of great extension in improving the moral tone of the country, spreading discipline and disseminating useful knowledge by means of well-paid and contented teachers.”

On the good results brought about by the policy of conciliation embodied in the Councils Act, Mr. Montagu observed :

“ In effect, the Councils Act has resulted in producing excellent debates, creating opportunities for the ventilation of grievances and of public views, creating public opinion, permitting the Governors to explain themselves, giving to those interested in politics a better and a more productive field for their persuasive powers than the rather more sterile debates in Congress. I have now described not only the latest measure for dealing with disorder, the measure to create a responsible Press, but also the latest measure for an attempt to popularise the Councils Act.”

Young as Mr. Montagu is, he, however, did not hesitate to offer the following advice to the House :—

“ Do not, on the one hand, oppose all agitation for reforms because you are led astray to confuse it with seditious agitation Do not fear that you are lacking in sympathy with the true reformer because you refuse sympathy to the anarchist. Because you are afraid that some reformer may be called an anarchist, because you fear that you will be accused of refusing to assist those who are animated by some democratic ideals similar to your own, you are led sometimes to appear to throw a protecting cloak over the malefactor in order to proclaim aloud your sympathy with the reformer. To resist the efforts made to cope with the anarchist

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because you will not trust the Government of India to differentiate between the anarchist and the reformer ; these divergent, contradictory, and equally dangerous tendencies would, either of them, if they prevailed, subvert order and dissipate the promise to be found in Indian affairs at the moment ; and it is because of their existence that all parties in the House should help the Government in segregating violence and incitement to violence which mask, hinder, and might render impotent real efforts for reform. Remember, too, that every reform is irrevocable in India. Each reform opens out new activities, new spheres of thought, new views of life to those whom it affects. Each reform demands eventually, as its corollary, new and further reforms."

After a few words of warm eulogy of the Indian Civil Service, Mr. Montagu advised its members as follows :

" Remember that the best intentions of the Government may be frustrated by the most junior members of the Service, called upon, as they are, immediately to assume great responsibilities. I can conceive no more important career than the Indian Civil Service, and I would urge that it should be the object of all those who enter it to permit not even the most unfriendly examination to detect any deterioration in the Service."

And in this connection we respectfully submit that Sir Edward Baker would do well by comparing his own intolerance of " nice discrimination between the innocent and the guilty" with the following observations of Mr. Montagu :

" Paper reforms are useless if given grudgingly and made the excuse for tightened reins in administrative action—punitive measures become as dangerous as the evils they are to cure if used indiscriminately for repression and not for punishment, to drive honest men to despair instead of sinners to repentance."

Mr. Montagu did not close his address without summing up Lord Minto's "great record for five years" in the following words :—

" Taxation has been lightened to the extent of millions of pounds ; famine has been fought and frontiers have been protected with unparalleled success and speed. Factory conditions, general health, education, the efficiency of the police, have all been improved, the pay of the Native Army has been increased. Our relations with the Native States have been improved and were never better. The rigidity of the State machine has been softened, while liberal measures of reform have opened to the educated classes of the Indian community a wider field for participation in the government of the country."

ARTICLES



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It will, perhaps, be readily admitted that during the last four years Bengal has played a conspicuous part in the industrial awakening of India. A strong impetus has been given by it to the *Swadeshi* movement. Our countrymen have begun to give active preference to indigenous goods. A demand for these has arisen and is daily growing. The spirit of industrialism has permeated the people and industrial pursuits have come into great favour. India has caught the new idea. Bombay, the pioneer in constructive enterprise, still continues to lead in this line. To Bengal belongs chiefly the credit of *Swadeshi* propagandism. But its work did not end there. All the existing industries in the province have felt the quickening of a new life. The weavers, proverbially a poor set, are once again in a thriving condition. New handicrafts have seen the light of day. Pens and penholders, buttons, knives, socks and other articles of daily use are now prepared, though on a small scale, in the country. The indigenous shoe fairly competes with its foreign rival. Industries in modern style are also in evidence. One can point to the soap factories, tanneries, pottery works, pencil and match factories and spinning and weaving mills which have been started in this short period. Business on other lines—such as insurance and banking,—has also made some progress. This is, after all, not a bad record for a province whose strong point is certainly not in this direction. Shops for the sale of goods of indigenous manufacture have also multiplied. They are no longer the monopoly of any special class or caste. There is a genuine desire in the people to support home industries. Their feelings and ideas have undergone a change and are in keeping with the world-wide spirit of the age. But it will be said that this account does not hold true of the present state of things. It may be that the enthusiasm of the first years has abated. The first wave of a new idea is always full and effusive. Cool thought succeeds later and with it the excitement goes and errors are perceived and rectified. It is beyond question that the present attitude, at least, amongst the educated classes is one of reasoned preference towards home industries.

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Our principal defect lies in constructive work. No doubt for Bengal—a province industrially backward from the modern standpoint—some progress has been made. But this is not much. We have attempted many things. Can we say we have succeeded in them all? The general belief is, as yet, we have *not*. Some go to the length of saying that we have positively failed. The latter view may not be correct but it is not wide of the fact to say that our success is, indeed, not of a very appreciable character. There are some unavoidable reasons for this result. Management of large concerns is a new venture in Bengal. Mistakes are, therefore, bound to be made at the beginning. Besides there are peculiar difficulties which every industry has to contend with in our country. They hamper progress at every stage. Allowance must be made for all these circumstances. But making even the most liberal allowance, it is not possible to absolve the management of a considerable share of blame. There has, consequently, grown a feeling of disappointment in the country. It may soon deepen into despair. But such an attitude of public mind will be nothing short of a disaster and it ought to be our chief endeavour to avert it. Our first step in this direction is to make a searching enquiry into the circumstances that stand in the way of our success. This will be a safe guide for future course of action. No sort of delicacy or false pride should deter us from engaging in the task. For the issue at stake is of great national importance.

(1) The first thing that strikes even a careless observer is the undue haste with which some of our industrial schemes were undertaken. Prompted mainly by the excitement of the hour no proper account was taken of their needs and difficulties. The mode of conducting a particular business was seldom clearly thought out. The necessary capital was under-estimated and the question of the supply of raw material never troubled our minds. Guided by the must-do-something impulse an old spinning and weaving mill was purchased at double its value and a match factory was started with grossly insufficient capital. Their management was purely a matter of toss-up. No expert advice was available at hand: no really expert advice was sought. The mistakes due to this hasty action have now been discovered and are bearing fruit. But initial mistakes are difficult to undo at a later stage and always tell upon the efficiency of a business. Nowhere was caution more needed than in Bengal and nowhere unfortunately was caution so lightly trampled under foot.

(2) The experts who were entrusted with the work of manufacture

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often turned out to be no experts at all. They had learned the theory abroad but their practical training had been inadequate. The result was that when they themselves set to work they found themselves hopelessly at sea. There are experts who do not come within this category. But these exceptions do not affect the general statement. The fault is not so much of these experts as of the Association that had sent them, its principal care being their number and not their efficiency. They were not given sufficient facilities to enable them to complete their training. For all this the industries had to suffer. Capital is exacting and anxious for its return. By the time the experts learn their art the particular business is in a fair way to be wound up.

(3) Another drawback to our success is the amateurish way of doing business. A successful lawyer or a successful physician becomes the managing Director or the Manager of a Company. He has seldom any past experience and in many cases has no time or intention of acquiring any. But the point urged in his favour is that he works without a remuneration. He picks up an hour or two out of his spare time for the business of which he is the official head. The result is that the business never prospers, while he seems to take shelter under the plea that he does not work for pay. The system of having honorary directors or managers is vicious in principle. The manager of a firm must have a pecuniary and not merely a patriotic interest in the concern ; for the responsibility often goes along with the remuneration. In an ideal world things may be different, but we have to deal here with facts and not with fads. Self-sacrifice has no place in business which ought always to be conducted on sound business principles. We should draw our lessons from England. Another requisite for a manager is that he must be a whole-time man. His principal occupation must be the business of which he is the manager. Large practice, either as a lawyer or as a physician, if anything, is a disqualification for the office. The absurdity of the matter is heightened by the fact that one man often lends his name to half-a-dozen concerns. What is in a name? ought not to be the defence of a self-respecting and responsible man of position.

(4) Want of co-operation amongst several firms engaged in the same business is another evil. Frequently they carry on an unfair competition amongst themselves. The need of pushing one's wares does not mean cutting the throat of another in the field. He is not to be treated as a rival when the country is capacious enough for twenty and not merely two similar industries. This

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mutual rivalry is nowhere more pernicious than at the infant stage of a country's industrial progress.

(5) The single proprietor or the many shareholders of a concern as the case may be are oftentimes ignorant of the conditions of business. They lack the patience to wait for their money's return. Their impatience is a source of trouble to the management. But this patience which is so eminently desirable ought not to be synonymous with indifference. Honest criticism and intelligent interest are more helpful than otherwise. For the danger is great of a concern degenerating into a one-man show and this must be guarded against.

(6) The directors of a company are often found to be intolerant of criticism. It is not a rare instance to find them falling out amongst themselves on petty matters. They are sometimes charged with being actuated by private considerations in dealing with the affairs of the company. A regrettable lack of discipline is often displayed by them. It is always desirable for a director to press his own view of things but the failure to get it accepted by the majority ought not to be the signal for his secession.

(7) It is sometimes alleged that the interest of a manager does not always coincide with the interest of a firm. This is a serious charge and ought not to be accepted without sufficient proof. For nothing can be more damaging to the reputation of the person or the prosperity of the concern. But still it is a matter for enquiry.

The management of a business must steer clear of all these pitfalls. Otherwise success will not come or will be extremely slow and feeble if it comes at all.

It is a truism that the material prospect of our or any country lies in the growth of industrialism. But our capital is shy and organisation defective. The rich land-owners have a dread of industrial enterprises. Nursed in the ease of unearned increment they are naturally averse to the risk and labour involved in them. Many of them have very little money left after spending on the latest fashions of the day and meeting other urgent demands. The service men are over-cautious and do not like to risk their savings in uncertain investments. They are satisfied with $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on their hard-earned money. The third class consists of the professional money-lenders. Money-lending is the only business they understand and find very profitable too. But no industry can afford to pay or can thrive on the high rate of interest which they generally charge. The professional classes have a tendency to invest in business concerns. Amongst the first three classes there are, however, honourable

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exceptions. They have stepped forward and shown the way of investing capital in industries, which it is for others to follow. In Bengal a joint-stock company is an essential necessity. The bulk of the capital comes from small shareholders as our past experience proves. The question of capital practically resolves itself, therefore, into one of organisation. Our middle classes largely invest in companies under European management. There is no reason why they should not patronise Indian concerns if the latter can establish their credit and good name.

In these days of steam and electricity manufacture on a large scale is the rule. Small concerns have to work at a disadvantage. But it is yet to be proved that there is no room for small industries. They are more within our scope than the highly capitalised and complex mills and factories of the modern times. The question of handicrafts also demands our attention. All delicate and artistic things are still produced by hand even in Europe. In Bengal hand-made cloths still maintain their ground against foreign competition. In fact hardly any competition exists with them. In our country where labour is abundant and cheap the success of cottage industries is not quite impossible. It will be a real boon to the people, for work in factories is foreign to their genius. The evils, moral and physical, that are attendant on labour in mills may be avoided. No factory legislation could hardly put an end to them. The conflict between capital and labour is also doing a lot of mischief to society in the manufacturing countries. A revulsion of feeling has set in against factory labour and attempts are being made even in England to revive cottage industries. Their success may be problematical, but the experiment is worth trying in this country.

Our industrial future may not look bright in the light of past experience. It is certainly not hopeless. Mistakes may have been made in the past. We shall profit by them in the future. We can not give up the industrial career if we desire to live as a people. The time is coming, if it has not already come, when the people of Bengal will have to earn their bread solely within the confines of their own province. Leaves and fishes in services and professions will be snatched away by rival hands. Our only hope lies in industrial pursuits. The people of Bengal are endowed with a quick power of adaptability. They are inferior to none in skill and intelligence. What we lack is patience and whole-hearted devotion. A little more capacity to trust and to be trusted is also needful. The question of organisation is mainly a question of discipline.

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With a little more of these qualities there is no reason why we should not succeed in the industrial sphere. Success may be slow, but is bound to come. Let us only set to work in real earnest and in the right spirit.

Satyrananda Bose

THE SITUATION AND OUR DUTY

Nothing struck one more painfully in going through the proceedings of the recent meeting of the Supreme Legislative Council at Simla, at which the Seditious Meetings Act was renewed for a further term, than the unquestioning acceptance by so many non-official members of the official view, that the political situation in the country had considerably improved during the last few months. The country, said Mr. Gokhale, was now on the downward grade of its anxieties, and such was the assurance the Hon'ble member seemed to feel on the subject, that he actually proceeded to point out what he considered to be the causes of this improvement. Other non-official members followed in the same strain. Evidently all that these gentlemen had in view was the fact that the Government has achieved considerable success in suppressing that terrible evil, terrorism, which for a time threatened to do incalculable mischief. This is no doubt satisfactory, so far as it goes, but non-official members cannot afford to be short-sighted. So far as the suppression of terrorism means a state of security, at what cost, they might ask themselves, has this security been purchased? It cannot be said that the question itself did not strike them. One non-official member, whose fairness and honesty of purpose were praised in the highest terms by the *Englishman* newspaper in March last, actually declared, in the course of his speech, that the public life of the country had been killed by the Seditious Meetings Act. And the observation was repeated in more guarded language by some other non-official members. The Hon'ble members were considering a particular measure and not the whole situation, and were not therefore able to refer to the other measures which have co-operated with the Seditious Meetings Act in bringing about a result which, when the excitement of the moment is over, the Government would doubtless deplore as much as ourselves—a state of absolute political inaction. With the country landed, on their own admission, in this deplorable state, with what propriety could non-official members congratulate themselves that an improvement had been effected in the general political situation and that the tension

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had been greatly relieved ? Repression, indeed, would have stood supremely justified if that had been so. To me the most remarkable feature of the situation is not any improvement that has been effected, not the suppression of terrorism, greatly as I rejoice at it, because terrorism was only a passing evil, but the melancholy fact that in suppressing this evil, British statesmen have allowed themselves to adopt a policy, which is calculated so materially to thwart the progress of India. One by one, all the three elementary rights, I do not say, of civilised men but, at any rate, of the King's subjects, rights which, with some qualification or other, had been exercised by our people for generations have been practically taken away : I mean the right of public meeting, the right of association, and the freedom of the Press. I do not for a moment deny that it is merely from a love of order and from a desire to suppress lawlessness and sedition that the authorities have resorted to the measures leading to this unfortunate result. But want of foresight in those who are at the helm of affairs in a country may prove as fatal to its growth and progress as any other cause.

And what a sad want of foresight are our rulers exhibiting ! When the crimes that have recently disgraced our annals are described as political in their origin and character, it is implied, I suppose, that a number of people have been misled into believing that freedom in the sense of national self-determination is incompatible with the British connection. No greater delusion, assuming it exists anywhere, could, indeed, be imagined, but the statesmanship and wisdom of seeking to remove this delusion by an actual restriction of the freedom which the people have so long enjoyed is not quite apparent to me. I know it will be said in reply that the restriction is necessary for the preservation of order and that legitimate public life will have ample scope in the enlarged Councils. I know that is the official view ; but does any one expect it to be the non-official view also ? What, indeed, is the truth ? Does the salvation of the country depend merely upon the preservation of order and the proceedings of the enlarged Councils ? The efforts of Lord Morley and the Government of India have, so far as one can see, been confined to securing these laudable, but by no means all-sufficing, ends. Order, I think, is chiefly valuable when it leads to progress and expanded Councils are useful if there is such a thing as public opinion, expressed through many different channels and in many different forms, but which, so far as official policy and official measures are concerned, is most effectively voiced in Council.

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Order at the cost of progressive public life is scarcely worth having, except as a necessary evil ; the necessity has to be established before the evil can be acquiesced in, and in any case the evil must be temporary. And enlarged Councils, where there is no vigorous public opinion which insists upon finding expression in the Council-chamber, very often have to register the decrees of the executive. Statesmanship, therefore, is not summed up either in the repressive measures of the Government, the object of which is to secure order, or in the policy of conciliation which has given us the expanded Councils. Nor is it summed up in that impossible amalgam, repression-cum-conciliation. British statesmanship can have no higher aim in India than to help the many millions of our people, differing in race, language, religion and historic traditions, to evolve into, I do not say, a homogeneous but a composite nationality, a nation among the nations, and, in its political status, a self-governing unit of a glorious Empire. Whatever individual Englishmen, however highly placed, may affect to think, this has been the consistent, if unconscious, tendency of British rule in India and to the thinking portion of our people it has been England's chief title to our gratitude. Our people have never lived merely in the present and have never attached supreme importance to the security which England has given them, unquestionably valuable as it is in a negative sense. There is, they know, peace also in the grave, and a state of security may mean a state of religious and secular *nirvan*. It is because they expect British statesmanship to help Indian genius and Indian capacity to build upon the prevailing state of security and peace the superstructure of a healthy and vigorous national life that they have always been prepared to lend active support to British policy. Even now in spite of the short-sightedness of latter-day statesmanship and in spite of the adoption by the Government of the day of measures which they think to be injurious to their growth, they continue to hope for the best. That explains the persistency with which they are perpetually reminding the Government of its duty.

The present is essentially one of those moments when such a reminder is necessary. The Government of India, misled by a host of organs of Anglo-Indian opinion, has just decided to continue the Seditious Meetings Act for another five months and the air is surcharged with the rumour that the Act will be made permanent in March. The Press Act and the Crimes Act are already permanent measures. Thus not one of the organs of public life or public opinion can be said to be what it was barely three years ago. What

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else can be expected if no public life is allowed to grow or if there are to be no public activities at all except of the semi-official sort ? The Government has, indeed, told us in no uncertain language what it thinks of such public activities as we have hitherto had. The suppression of the Conferences in East Bengal was supported in the Viceroy's Council on the ground, among others, that " the object of these Conferences was to revive agitation." Does the Government then seriously contemplate putting under a ban all public activities that are not of a certain approved pattern ? To prevent " agitation " from being revived can, I fear, mean nothing else. The word "agitation" in the passage I have quoted can only mean the anti-partition agitation supported by the boycott propaganda. I am by no means sure that to revive agitation in this sense was the object of the suppressed Conferences, but I am prepared to meet the Government on its own ground. Does it seriously think that it can suppress agitation in this sense without reducing the country to a condition from which its own policy had been largely instrumental in elevating it ? The anti-partition agitation took its stand upon two fundamental principles, first, that the Bengali speaking people is, by community of interest, and ought, of right, to be a single and homogeneous unit in the life of the Indian nation, and secondly that a people rising fast to a consciousness of itself is entitled to an effective voice in the determination of its destinies, and that however high the authority of the Government may be, it should not ignore or ever trifle with the voice of the people. Similarly the boycott is based upon two elementary rights of the individual. The individual may do whatever he likes so long as he does not interfere with the just rights of other individuals, and renders that support to lawful authority which it has a right to expect from him ; and he may seek to induce other people to adopt a certain course, so long as that course itself is legitimate and the weapon he uses is moral persuasion. Will anybody tell us how any civilised Government, particularly a Government English in its origin and character, can suppress an agitation like the anti-partition agitation or a propaganda like that of the boycott, without proving false to some of the fundamental principles of its constitution and violating some of the fundamental rights of modern citizenship ? Boycott in the sense of incitement to racial hatred is certainly objectionable ; boycott enforced by unlawful methods may be put down with a firm hand. In the same way, seditious speeches made at public meetings or public meetings which may lead to disorder or breaches of the peace may be suppressed. But

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where there is neither violence nor sedition, nor incitement to racial hatred, it is not within the moral competence of the Government to put down either boycott or any political agitation. I use the words "moral competence" advisedly, for as the Government is now constituted in India there is really no limit to its power. It is against the use of this power, where the moral competence is not patent to us, that popular protests are directed.

Talking of power, I am reminded that as things stand in India, there can be no untruer doctrine than that we alone can make or mar our future and that the Government can do nothing. If the Government will only allow the particular measures we have referred to to continue on the statute book, it can effectively reduce the people to a condition where nothing beyond the individualistic or the family life would be open to it. No one can believe that the Government will do this, or that it will not abandon its present policy the moment it is convinced that this is the tendency of that policy. But we are talking of abstract power, and we have in view not so much the Government, as that thoughtless section of the people—an infinitesimal section admittedly, still not negligible—who seem to think that a Government so powerful as ours, so firmly established in the acquiescence of the people and so well-organised, can be overthrown by a few wild utterances or by a few insane acts of violence. These utterances and acts, however they may be explained, have so far had but one effect, that of strengthening the hands of reaction and completely demoralising a very large portion of the general population, particularly the educated community. If they are persisted in, things will only become worse.

This reminds me that the leaders of the people, by whatever name they may be called, extremists or moderates, have not so far done their duty to the country. They have condemned the repressive measures of the Government; some of them have condemned the acts of violence committed by a number of misguided youngmen. But both classes of politicians have from the beginning committed the fatal mistake of thinking that the salvation of the country depends solely upon "political action." The one has fixed upon Colonial Self-Government for its goal and constitutional agitation for its method; the other has fixed upon unqualified Self-Government for its goal and the preaching of courage, self-reliance and self-help in the abstract, for its method. Neither has adequately realised that the salvation of the country depends, above every thing else, upon the development of its strength and efficiency from within. The inadequate attention which such all-important aspects of

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the national problem as education and social reform even now receive from both wings of the Nationalist Party, if we leave a few individuals out of account, as compared with political questions can leave no doubt as to this. In this particular matter, indeed, I blame the extremists more than the moderates. The vast majority of moderate politicians, for good or for evil, have always believed that Self-Government will be conceded to India as soon as the justice of her case has been made clear, and since they have narrowed down their activities to politics, they may confine themselves to political agitation with some show of reason. Not so the extremists who profess to rely only upon themselves. Do these estimable gentlemen rely only upon themselves individually and the small minority of their way of thinking—or upon the country generally? Reviewing their activities for the four years preceding the last twelve months, the period of absolute inaction for both parties, one is constrained to observe that in the main they thought as little of and relied as little upon the country as those moderate leaders whose eyes have always or generally been fixed principally upon England. We have heard a good deal about “faith in the country,” but in the main the phrase has been resorted to only, I fear, to avoid the arduous process of thinking about the country and its problems.

This avoidance of the somewhat laborious process of thought constitutes, to my mind, the saddest drawback in our public life and public activities. I am one of those who have for the last few years been loudly congratulating the country upon the birth of a spirit of nationality among its people. But so far all that the advent of this new spirit has perceptibly effected is a change in men's feeling. There is undoubtedly a hankering, sometimes a most passionate hankering, for the service of the country and for making ourselves useful to it. And the hankering seems to permeate not merely individuals, but a not inconsiderable section of the educated community and almost the bulk of the younger generation. But if the essence of self-consciousness is thought, the painful admission has to be made that while the national sentiment seems to be fairly abroad, national self-consciousness is yet confined to only a handful. There has so far been too little of an attempt to look at, to regulate, and to reconstruct life, its institutions and concerns from the point of view of the highest interests—the highest good of the community. There has been too little of an attempt even to find out the highest interests—the highest good of the community. This lack of self-consciousness showed itself, strange as the saying may seem, most conspicuously in the sayings and doings of that small band of

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politicians who about 3 or 4 years ago seemed to have convinced themselves and a large body of their youthful following that the country could make no progress whatever so long as it had not attained national autonomy. I was in a remote provincial town when this doctrine first began to be preached and having some connection with a local newspaper, I ventured to ask through its columns the principal advocate of this doctrine if he was not really preaching a cult of despair and of absolute inaction. If we could make no progress whatever, I asked, without having previously attained national autonomy and if, as was perfectly obvious, we could not attain national autonomy without having achieved considerable progress in more directions than one, what had we to do if not to sit with folded hands, awaiting that blessed consummation which Mr. Lalmohan Ghosh so felicitously described as political *nirvan*? The gentleman to whom this question was put had among other high merits that of candour, and was not inclined, like so many others, to deceive himself, and, if I am not very much mistaken, he never again indulged in the fallacy which for some time had vitiated his otherwise splendid political reasonings. But I cannot say that his friends and followers abandoned this fatal way of thinking, so long as they were permitted to have any "thinking" at all, at any rate in public. The truth, of which the above doctrine is the perversion, is that India, as a nation, among the nations, cannot do for a single day, can make no advance in the international arena, cannot fulfil itself in the life of universal humanity, without national self-government. But India must be a nation before national self-government can be indispensable to her in this particular sense. That does not mean that it is not necessary to place the ideal of self-government before the community. On the other hand, I am firmly convinced, as I hope the bulk of my educated countrymen are, that it is the ideal of a composite self-governing nationality which must lend its distinctive colour to all our political, social and economic thinking, and must inspire all our public and private activities. But it is one thing to have an ideal and to treat it as such, recognising its place in the scheme of rational life; it is quite another to regard the ideal as an immediately attainable object—as an object which must be attained before any other could be thought of. I feel strongly that things would have been very different to-day if this undoubtedly patriotic, though somewhat impulsive, class of my countrymen, had not so resolutely and so zealously insisted upon putting the cart before the horse.

The truth is that a good deal of uphill work has to be done,

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a good deal of steady, self-sacrificing, patriotic service has to be rendered to the motherland, amid difficulties which, in some cases, look formidable, indeed, before the ideal of self-government can become an object of immediate realization. It is to this work that I invite my countrymen, particularly the younger generation, to address themselves. The invitation has no ring of novelty about it, as will presently appear, but since even commonplace things are sometimes completely overlooked and are remembered only if there is a reminder of them, I have ventured to take upon myself this task of reminding my educated countrymen of a very humble duty which, nevertheless, is apt to be forgotten in the midst of the prevailing confusion and despair. This duty is to address themselves whole-heartedly to educating the common people, not in political principles and maxims, at any rate, not at present, but in much commoner things—in things that are immediately useful to them and will elevate them intellectually, socially as well as economically. In a country where the vast majority of the people are ignorant and illiterate and lack the spirit of enterprise and are slaves to routine and to custom, fatalistic in their conceptions and ready to face any calamity rather than assert themselves in ever so legitimate a way—a country divided by all the barriers that ignorance and tradition can set between man and man or between race and race, along with others that are the legitimate and inevitable outcome of historic development,—I say, in such a country, the very first thing for the reformer is to educate the people. Intellectual and spiritual emancipation must precede political emancipation. Artificial and arbitrary social barriers must be broken down and the spirit of slavish subservience to authority, custom and tradition must be replaced by a spirit of conscious self-realisation and self-assertion, before the political barrier dividing rulers from ruled can be so much as touched. “Social reform,” I know, is a phrase which stinks in the nostrils of a portion of the educated community. A considerable section of the nationalist party would not have it. They think that high as is the object of the social reformer, in practice all that he often does is to add one more class to the innumerable castes that already divide the people. The argument, though plausible, is entirely unsound. In the first place, the task of social reform has never yet been approached from the national point of view, the point of view of national efficiency. And it has never been sought to be based upon education, education of the higher and privileged castes in social and national duty, and even more particularly the education

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of the so-called lower castes, both intellectual and moral, and in the principles of social equality as well as of social duty. And in the second place, even if there is the risk of the nationalist reformers constituting a distinct class for some time, how could you avoid it? If we are convinced, as I for one am firmly convinced, that the elevation of the depressed classes and the recognition, not merely in theory, but in practice, of the general social equality of different sections of the people must precede the birth of a nation in India in any real sense, it would be suicidal to avoid the difficult path of social reform merely because it is difficult. After all, it is chimerical and foolish to a degree to ask the so-called lower classes, which constitute the bulk of the people, to strive for political equality with the representatives of a power which has substantial force behind it, while they are not treated, and do not resent in not being treated, as social equals by classes of their own countrymen whose vaunted superiority is based upon nothing more tangible than heredity. If they ever learn to strive earnestly for political equality, it would only be after they have secured social equality for themselves. If they are asked to join the higher castes in the struggle for political equality in the present condition of things, and agree to do so, there will be little sincerity and less earnestness in their effort and this lack of sincerity will be a factor of considerable weakness in the general movement. And, after all, are we the higher castes quite sincere in the desire for political equality when we deny social equality to the vast majority of the people in whose name alone we can claim political equality with our rulers? Is there not an element of unreality in our efforts which, in such cases, means an element of fundamental weakness?

I have said that the educated community should address themselves to the task of educating and elevating the common people. But has the Government no part to play in this connection? In my opinion, the Government has as clear and as decided a duty to discharge as the people. The commonplace saying that nations are by themselves made is like most similar sayings but a half-truth. I have already said that the Government has the power, though neither the moral competence nor certainly the desire, to reduce us to a state where only life in the family would be open to us, which, in its turn, and having regard to the keenness of industrial and other competition in the present-day world, would soon lead to a condition of things which one trembles to contemplate. So likewise it can help us immensely in realising ourselves. As things stand, indeed, we cannot do without

THE SITUATION AND OUR DUTY

its co-operation. Whether in educating the people or in elevating them economically, we have at every step to depend upon what it will or will not do. But is there any reason to suppose that if we proceed rightly, it will make us feel this state of dependence or that it will not do its duty by the great country, the custodian of whose rights, liberties and interests, it has willingly made itself? Whatever occasional excesses of individual officials or reactionary measures calculated to thwart our progress may suggest, I for one believe in the national conscience of England, and have little doubt that in the main it will choose the better part in future, as it has chosen the better part in the past. Already we have been told that the Government is anxious, by means of a system of co-ordinated education, to spread education to the darkest corners of the country. We may have less faith in the virtues of "co-ordination" than Mr. Montagu or the Secretary of State, but we have no reason to believe that the desire itself is not there. As for poverty, it is as much a source of weakness to the Government as to the people. If we do not expect what cannot possibly be had at this stage, the Government will probably go a long way with us in seeking to improve the economic condition of the people, more particularly of the agricultural classes who form the bulk of the community. And these, coupled with sanitation, constitute the only sphere where co-operation between the people and the Government is either possible or necessary. In social reform I know we have the sympathy of the better class of Englishmen with us, but here sympathy is all that we can either expect or tolerate. In politics—for political agitation there will always be, though it may not absorb all our attention as it has done for some time—co-operation must for years be limited to subjects of a non-contentious nature, the least important class of political subjects, as a rule. As regards the suppression of lawlessness, to talk of the necessity of our co-operating with the authorities is to put the thing in a very adequate way. If the people realize their duty they will certainly find that it is even more to their interest than to the interest of the Government that violence as a political method should cease—cease absolutely. I can not undertake in this place to point out the very great harm it has done to the cause of the country; I refuse to undertake that duty if the authorities will not allow me to speak the whole truth about its origin. But even without referring to the whole of the mischief it has done, it is possible to insist that a method which has so immensely strengthened the hands of reaction and, in the result, so com-

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pletely demoralized the bulk of the people should be whole-heartedly condemned by all who wish well to the people. There is just one word of advice I would like to offer to the Government if they will care to have it. The punishment of evil-doers, whether in the political or any other field, is undoubtedly necessary ; but it is even more necessary to so prepare the conditions that the evil may not raise its head. It is wrong to think that repression can ever be the true remedy. Where it succeeds it sometimes proves worse than the disease ; but more often it does not succeed at all. It is not good for the Government, and certainly they do not want, that the splendid spirit of self-sacrifice and of passionate service to the motherland which the example of England herself, as embodied in her history, and of other nations, notably Japan, has evoked in our people, should be nipped in the bud, and it is very doubtful if they can be nipped in the bud by anything which a Government so great as ours would do. The policy which such a Government, therefore, should whole-heartedly adopt is that of enlisting popular co-operation in guiding this spirit of self-sacrifice and of patriotic service into the most fruitful channels. And what channels can be better for the country or more fruitful than popular education, sanitary improvement of the country and the economic elevation of the common people ? If the Government will adopt this policy, it will have aimed the most deadly blow at terrorism and will practically have killed it with one stroke.

My idea is that along with social reform, which must be the concern of the educated community alone, a comprehensive campaign of co-operation between the Government and the people should be inaugurated in the country. As I have said, in education, in the economic elevation of the people and in sanitation, the Government and the people may co-operate, at any rate for many years to come. Let them whole-heartedly co-operate in furthering these ends. It would be a proud achievement for the Government if they can say, at the end of, say, a quarter of a century that with the help of popular leaders they have succeeded in making education free, compulsory and universal, in driving out the scourge of malaria from the country, and in so improving the condition of the people that they are no longer reduced to utter destitution by the failure of one harvest. It would also be a proud achievement for the people. Let the work be decentralized as far as possible, each district having executive committees on which both the official and non-official elements will be adequately represented, and let these committees enlist the services of the most patriotic men of the district. A scheme worked

out in all its details can not possibly be offered in an article in a Review and had better be evolved by the authorities, official and non-official, putting their heads together. All that I can say is that except through the operation of such a scheme, aided by activities of distinctively social and political order, I can see no way of escape from the terrible doom that seems to confront us on all sides. For one thing and but one, there is no other way of making the Press Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act unnecessary for the authorities and inoperative for the people. And unless these are made inoperative for the people by being made unnecessary for the Government, there can be little hope of public life or of public activities in the country, at any rate in the near future.

Kalinath Ray

THE EARLY DAYS OF LUCHMEE BAI

“ And she whom once the semblance of a scar
Appall'd, an owlet's larum chill'd with dread,
Now views the column-scattering bay'net jar,
The falchion flash, and o'er the yet warm dead
Stalks with Minerva's step where Mars might quake to tread.”

The extraordinary force of character and heroism of Luchmee Bai of Jhansi and the influence she exercised over the dark and momentous mutiny of 1857-8 form a very stirring and singular chapter in the modern history of India. Ranee Lachmee Bai, the flower of female chivalry, was born at the sacred city of Benares on the 8th of November, 1835. She came of a good family, though not of the kind most recognized by the Heralds' College. The want of hereditary eminence was amply redeemed in her family by hereditary virtues, which are the guarantees of true goodness in every age and clime ; and the innate and solid nobility of her line was far more precious than all the pomp and blazonry of rank and fortune. When the Mahratta power was at its zenith, which caused nearly every other principality in Central India to bow before its supremacy, there lived in the service of the mighty Mahratta Pashwa, in a small village named Bai, whose foot is still washed by the murmuring currents of the river Krishna, an humble and unostentatious Brahmin of the Karhadit tribe, named Krishna Rao. In Balabonta Rao, he was proud of a son whose valour and prowess soon proved a strong recommendation for his admission into the ranks of the personal guards of the Mahratta Lord at Poona.

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Balabanta Rao had two sons known as Maropantha and Sada Sheo Rao. The elder accompanied Appa Sahib after the downfall of his brother Baji Rao—the Mahratta Pashwa in Benares. There on a salary of Rs. 50 per mensem and in the company of his accomplished and beautiful wife, Bhagirathi Bai, he passed the remaining days of his life. On the 18th of November 1835, the birth of a healthy and beautiful girl considerably increased the domestic felicity of the family. The infant was named Manu Bai, subsequently famous in history as Luchmee Bai.

A severe calamity soon after overtook Maropantha and nearly overwhelmed him. His generous patron and beloved wife dying both at about the same time compelled him to leave Benares and to flee for shelter to Baji Rao in Bithoor. Manu Bai was then in her fourth year, and her rearing and education devolved on the father and his newly married wife, Chima Bai. This beautiful little woman had been the doting object of endearment to the courtiers of Baji Rao. The Peishwa was so pleased with the precocious intelligence of this little beauty, that he allowed the teacher engaged for coaching his adopted son, Nana Sahib, to give lessons to this girl also. The innate intelligence of the girl, added to the constant association and companionship with the refined and the elderly in the bosom of a royal family, tended to the formation of a character, which, developing with the growth of years, rendered her an object of wonder and admiration in Bithoor. While yet within her teens, she gave sufficient indications of the latent genius in her, by the display of all those faculties and powers, not ordinarily to be found in her sex. Manly exercises and the feats of arms had been her favourable occupation; womanism she despised. The lessons given to the Peishwa's adopted son in the tactics of arms and horsemanship stimulated her, though much younger in age to attempt at both of them, and she soon rivalled the young prince to the satisfaction and astonishment of all in the Bithoor court. Once on an occasion, seeing Nana Sahib and the Peishwa on the back of a rich caprisoned elephant, she boldly requested the Peishwa to allow her to mount the huge animal. The Peishwa, much pleased, ordered the boys to take Manu Bai with them, but they refused. To the persisting request of the girl the boys remained obdurate. This provoked Moropanth to offer an admonition to his obstinate daughter. "Fool, it is too much for you to expect an elephant." Unabashed, the daughter replied: "papa, one day you will find 10 elephants under my command." Chima Bai bears testimony as to the ambition

of her step-daughter by noting that till married she had been extremely fond of playing the queen in the company of her female companions, ordering some to execute her commands while punishing others for disobeying them, besides engaging her time in recreations such as riding, kiting, and rolling wheels.

Thus passed in manly feats and heroic exercises the early period of this illustrious girl's life. She now arrived at an age which caused her father to get anxious to find a suitable alliance for her. At this juncture a sooth-sayer of the name of Tatia arrived at Bithoor from Jhansi and fore-told on inspection of her horoscope that she was destined to be a Ranee. The father, not laying much store by this, simply inquired of him whether in Jhansi there was a suitable bridegroom for his girl. In reply the astrologer said that, as the ruler of Jhansi presently had become a widower, there was a probability of the girl being married to him and his prophecy would thereby be fulfilled. This led the father to send the astrologer back to the Jhansi Court, with a letter from Baji Rao, proposing the alliance of Manu Bai with the ruler of that place. Learning from this messenger of the various accomplishments and of the superb beauty of the girl, Gungadhur Rao of Jhansi sent an accredited officer of his State to Bithoor to vouch for the report. The officer corroborating the messenger's version in respect of Manu Bai, Gungadhur lost no time in informing the Mahratta Peshwa of his willingness to close with the proposed match. And in no time the marriage was solemnized at Jhansi with all the pomp and splendour befitting the dignity of the parties. During the marriage ceremony, when the fringes of the happy couple's garments were being tied together by the priest, the girl's witty spirit burst forth in the remark : "fasten them hard, oh ! priest."

The dazzling beauty of Manu Bai coupled with the qualities of her heart not only enthroned her into the bosom of her dear lord, but gained for her the affection and homage of the Jhansi people, who regarded her as Luchmee—the goddess of plenty and magnificence—and thenceforward she was styled Ranee Luchmee Bai of Jhansi.

Gopendralal De

GRANDPAPA*

I.

Time was when the zamindars of Nayanjore were in high repute as the "Baboos." In those days, the standard of 'Babooism' was high

* A Story in Bengalee by Babu Rabindranath Tagore rendered freely. (Ed., J. W.)

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and not easy to attain. As now-a-days the titles of a Raja or a Rai Bahadur involve quite a carnival of dinners, nautches, race-tips, salams and introductions, so formerly one had to practise many hard austerities to win and keep the title of a 'Baboo'.

Our 'Baboos' of Nayanjore wore the cloths of Dacca after tearing away the borders, for the stiffness of the border hurt their tender 'Babooism'. They used to give away their kittens in marriage for lakhs of rupees, and the rumour goes that on one occasion, at a certain festival, vowing to turn the night into day, they lit up countless lamps, and in imitation of the sun's rays, rained tissues of real silver from the roof.

It will be easily perceived from this that this sort of 'Babooism' of the olden time did not last for generations. Like a many-wicked lamp, it quickly consumed its own oil in short-lived pomp and display.

Kailash Chandra Roy Chowdhuri, the hero of my story, was a played-out Baboo of this far-famed Nayanjore family. When he was born, the oil of the family lamp had nearly struck its bottom ; and after his father's death, Nayanjore Babooism, after shedding its final lusture in extravagant *sradha* and propitiatory functions, went suddenly out. All the properties were sold up for debts—what little remained was wholly insufficient to keep up the family reputation.

Accordingly, Kailash Babu left Nayanjore and settled down in Calcutta with his son. The son, too, forsook the fallen family, and departed to the next world, leaving a daughter behind him.

We live close by Kailash Babu in Calcutta. Our history is the exact reverse of his. My father made his pile by dint of his own exertions ; he never wore his cloth below his knees, and kept his accounts to the last *kara* and *kranti*, and had no hankering for being called a Baboo. For this, I, who am his only son, is grateful to him. That I received a decent education, and, without any effort of mine, came into a fortune sufficiently large to support my life and dignity—this I considered a point of exceeding honour. To me Government promissory notes, left by an ancestor in an iron chest, seemed far more valuable than the bright record of ancestral Babooism with an empty coffer.

Possibly it was for this reason that when Kailash Babu went on making large drafts on the failed bank of their past renown, I found it so intolerable. I fancied that possibly because my father made his money with his own hands, Kailash Baboo entertained a feeling of contempt for us. This provoked me ; and I would very often ask to myself as to who of us deserved to be looked down with greater

contempt ? He who, by austere sacrifices, by steering clear of numerous temptations, by scorning the cheap applause of thoughtless multitude, by his tireless and alert intelligence overcoming all obstacles, had built up a big fortune with no end of silver at his back—was such a man to be despised because he did not wear his cloth below his knees ?

I was young then. So I argued like this and felt angry. Now I have grown older, and say to myself, what harm is there in it ? I have an extensive fortune and I want nothing. If he who has not got anything feels happy by mere boasting, I am not a farthing the loser ; on the other hand, let the poor fellow have some consolation.

It is also a fact that none else besides me ever felt offended with Kailash Babu, for such a singularly inoffensive man seldom could be met with. He had the fullest sympathy with his neighbours in all their joys and sorrows, in all their concerns. From a boy to an old man, he would greet every one cordially, his politeness would prompt him to make kindly inquiries about all and sundry wherever they might happen to be. Thus it happened that whenever he met anyone, a long string of questions and answers would follow :— ‘Doing well ?’ ‘Shoshi is doing well ?’ ‘Our Bura Babu is quite well ?’ ‘Heard Madhu’s son had fever, is he all right now ?’ ‘Hav’nt seen Hari Charan Babu for an age ; nothing wrong with him, I hope ?’ ‘What news of you, Rakhal ? And the ladies of the house are doing well ?’, and so on.

The man was exceedingly neat and spruce. His wardrobe was of the scantiest, but the *mirzai*, the *chadar*, the *jama*, even an old wrap used as a bed-cloth, the pillow cases and a small *durry*, all these he would, with his own hands, sun and dust and stretch on the string and fold up and daintily arrange on the clothes-horse. Wherever he was seen, he looked almost like a pink of fashion. With even their scanty and humble furnishing, his rooms looked tidy. It seemed there was so much more yet in those rooms.

Oftentimes for want of a servant, he would shut himself up in his room, and, with his own hands, elaborately crimp the edges of his *dhoti*, and with infinite pains crease up his *chadar* and the loose sleeves of his *jama*. All his big estates and valuable properties had gone off his hand, but a precious *goluh-pas* and *atar-dan*, a gold plate, a silver *albola*, a rich shawl and some old-time garments and pugree he had saved, with the utmost efforts, from the auctioneers’ hammer. Whenever any occasion would arise these would be brought out, and the honour of the world-famed Nayanjore Baboos upheld.

On the other hand, humble-as-dust sort of man as Kailash

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Babu was, the pride expressed in his talk he was wont to regard as a duty paid to his ancestor ; every one humoured him and felt particularly amused at this.

The neighbours used to call him 'grandpapa', and there would be always large gatherings at his place. But lest the bill of tobacco, in his straitened circumstances, should run up too heavy, one or other of the neighbours would buy a seer or two of it, and present it to him saying, "just try once, Grandpapa, very nice Gaya tobacco this."

Grandpapa would give a pull or two at his pipe, and say, "Nice tobacco, indeed." And he would at once break out into yarns about tobacco valued at sixty or sixty-five rupees per *tola* in his possession, and ask if any one would like to smoke it.

Every one knew that if he expressed such a desire, assuredly either the key would be missing, or, after much search, it would transpire that that fool of an old servant Ganesh had not the least reckoning as to where he put the things by—and Ganesh too would take all this lying down. So people would say with one voice, "We had better not, Grandpapa, we may not stand such tobacco ; what we are smoking is good enough for us."

And Grandpapa would smile without uttering a second word. Then, when his visitors would take their leave, he would suddenly exclaim : "By-the-bye, when are you coming to dine with me, friends ?"

All would answer it about the very same way : "Oh, we shall fix a day for it later on."

"All right," Grandpapa would say, "let there be a shower or two and the weather cool a bit, for a heavy dinner is no good in this grilling weather."

When rain fell, nobody would care to remind Grandpapa of his promise ; on the other hand, if the matter was ever raked up by anybody, his friends would say that they would not stand any feast till the spell of wet had cleared. All his friends admitted to him that it did not look well that he should live in those poor lodgings ; at the same time, nobody had the least doubt how difficult it was to find a suitable house to buy in Calcutta,—in fact, after diligent search for the last six or seven years, none of the neighbours could ever find a decent house for him to hire. So Grandpapa would say : "Never mind. Dear, I am so happy in being so near to you all ; there's the big house at Nayanjore lying empty, but do I find it ever convenient to live there?"

It is my belief that Grandpapa was equally aware that everyone

who came to him knew everything about his *real* circumstances, and when he feigned the past Nayanjore as present and everyone joined him in it, the mutual deception was all due to mutual kindliness.

But I got terribly bored. When young, one feels inclined to bring down even the inoffensive pride of another, and in comparison with a thousand grave faults foolishness seems to be the gravest. Kailash Baboo was not exactly a fool ; people would often court his assistance and advice in their affairs. But he had not the least discretion in proclaiming the glory of Nayanjore. As people would not contradict even his most extravagant stories out of a spirit of kindliness and humour, he could not keep the measure of his speech. When other people too would humorously or with a view to flatter him indulge in the grossest exaggerations regarding the fame and achievements of Nayanjore, he would blandly accept them all as the barest truth and would not even dream that anyone could in the least distrust his stories.

At times I felt a wish to blow up with a couple of cannon balls the false fabrics in which the old man dwelt, which appeared so durable to me at times. When a bird sits cosily on a branch, sportsman feels a desire to shoot it down ; if there is a stone on the hill-side glen, every boy feels ready to wish to send it rolling down with a kick—as if a thing which seems to be momentarily tottering to its fall requires to be just thrown down to attain its completeness and give satisfaction to the onlooker. Kailash Baboo's falsehood was so artless, its foundation was so weak, it disported itself so proudly right in the aim of the gun of truth, that I felt a strong impulse to demolish it in a moment—only out of sheer indolence, and in deference to social etiquette, I desisted.

II.

So far as I can now see by analysing my past feelings, there was yet another subtle reason for the secret antipathy I felt towards Kailash Babu. But this point requires to be stated a little more explicitly.

Though the son of a wealthy man, I had not failed to take my M. A. degree in due time ; inspite of my youth, I had never joined evil company or in coarse pleasures ; and, when, after my guardian's death I had become my own master, I had not suffered any deterioration in character. Besides, my personal appearance was such that to call me handsome might not exactly be true but it would not certainly be a lie.

Consequently, in the matrimonial market of Bengal, my quotations were certainly very high. I had made up my mind that in this

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market I should realise my full value. Nothing short of a wealthy father's highly beautiful, accomplished and only daughter, was the ideal that would meet my fancy.

Proposals of marriage, with offers of dowry to the tune of ten to fifteen thousand of rupees, came in from far and near. With an unmoved heart, I kept weighing their eligibility nicely in the scales, but no one I found to be quite my match. At length, I felt convinced like Bhavabhuti that—

After all my equal may still be found,

For the world is wide and time without bound.

But it was a matter of doubt if the match I wanted could really be found at the present day within the narrow limits of Bengal.

People burdened with unmarried daughters sang my praises constantly in varied keys, and paid me elaborate worship. Whether I approved of the particular girl or not, I did not dislike the homage paid to me. I assumed that, as an 'eligible youth', this worship was just my *due*. We read in the shastras that the gods, whether they conferred any boon or not, became mortally offended if they were not suitably worshipped. Having received regular worship, my mind was filled up with a feeling of lofty godlikeness.

I have already said that Grandpapa had a grand-daughter. I had seen her many times, but never had fancied her to be a great beauty. Consequently the idea of marrying her never crossed my mind. But this I had taken for granted that Kailash Babu, either himself or through a friend, would one day address himself to my worship with the view of tendering the girl as an offering on the alter of my eligibility. But this he did *not* do.

I heard he had said to a friend of mine that the Nayanjore Baboos never had taken the forward step in making a proposal to anybody, and, even if the girl were to live and die a maid, he would not break the family tradition.

This made me wroth for a long time ; the feeling of anger I cherished in my breast, and it was all owing to my being a really eligible youth that I kept *quiet*.

As there is lightening in thunder, so in my temperament irascibility was mingled with a love of fun. It would not have been possible for me simply to torment the old man—but one day such a funny idea struck my fancy that I could not resist the temptation of putting it into execution.

I have already said that to please the Grandpapa people would tell all sorts of stories to him. A retired Deputy-Magistrate of the neighbourhood used to say very often : " Grandpapa, whenever I

meet the Lieutenant-Governor he would not let me go without inquiring about the Nayanjore Baboos. The Sahib says that there are only two really aristocratic families in Bengal,—the Rajahs of Burdwan and the Babus of Nayanjore."

Grandpapa would be really delighted at this—and whenever he met the extra-Deputy, after other kindly inquiries, would ask—"Is His Honour doing well? And his Lady? And his children?" He would even express a wish that he would shortly call on the Sahib. But the extra-Deputy knew it for certain that before the famous coach and four of Nayanjore could be ordered out to the door, many Lieutenant-Governors and Governors-General would come and go.

One morning I called on him and drawing Kailash Babu to a quiet corner whispered to him—"Grandpapa, I attended the Lieutenant-Governor's levee yesterday. As he fell to talking of the Nayanjore Babus, I said that Kailash Babu of Nayanjore was here in Calcutta; on hearing this, His Honour was very sorry he had not called, and told me that he would come to see you privately this very noon."

Any one would have perceived the improbability of such a story, and Kailash Babu himself would have laughed at it if it had concerned any body else—but as it concerned him, he did not find it in the least incredible. In fact, on hearing this, he was fully as much delighted as flurried—where to seat the L.-G., what to do, how to receive him—how to maintain the dignity of Nayanjore—he was almost at his wit's end in thinking all this out. Apart from that, he did not know English, and how to carry on the conversation was another fix.

"You need not be anxious about that," said I, "an interpreter invariably accompanies the Lieutenant-Governor, but it is his particular wish that none else should be present on the occasion."

At noon when most of the neighbours had gone to office, and the rest were laid in sleep behind closed doors, a carriage drew up in front of Kailash Baboo's house.

A brass-badged chaprasi ran up and announced, "Chota Lat Sahib is come!" Grandpapa, dressed in white robes and *pugree* after the fashion of old times, and with his servant Ganesh rigged out in his own *dhoti* and *chadar* and *jama*, stood ready. On hearing the announcement of the *Chota Lat's* arrival, he ran trembling and panting to the door, and salaming low again and again, led within a dear associate of mine dressed in the habits of an Englishman.

Then placing this bogus *Chota Lat* on a *chouki*, covered with his only costly shawl, he read a long and humble speech in Urdu, and

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held a string of *asrafs*, an heirloom saved with infinite pains, on a gold plate as nazar. The old servant Ganesh stood by with the *atar-dan* and the *golab-pas* !

Kailash Babu expressed regret repeatedly that had the dust of His Honour's feet fallen at his Nayanjore house, he could have made arrangement for suitably entertaining His Honour—here in Calcutta he was a stranger, helpless in all things, like a fish out of water, &c.

My friend kept nodding gravely with his chimney hat on. According to English etiquette, the *topce* should have been off now, but my friend, dreading exposure, had covered himself up as much as possible, and did not remove his hat. Any one but Kailash Babu and the blind puppy of his servant could in a moment have detected the Bengali's disguise. After nodding for about ten minutes, my friend rose, and the *chaprasis*, according to previous instructions, gathered the string of *asrafs* with the gold plate, the shawl from the *chauki*, and the *golab-pas* and the *atar-dan* from the servant's hands, and put them in the masquerader's carriage—Kailash Babu thought that this was the custom with the *Chota Lat*. I was privately looking on from a side room, and my sides were ready to split with suppressed laughter.

At length, unable to control myself any longer, I ran into a remote apartment and just on entering it burst into a torrent of laughter. I noticed a girl lying flat on a wooden bedstead and sobbing convulsively.

Seeing me suddenly enter the room and break into laughter, she at once left the *chauki* and stood up—and calling the thunder of indignation into her tear-choked voice and raising the keen lightning of her large, black, watery eyes on my face, she cried—“What has my Grandpapa done to you—what have you come to cheat him for—why have you come here”? She found no more words to speak and, feeling quite choked up, put her cloth to her face, and burst into a flood of tears.

Gone was my outburst of laughter ! It did not strike me before that there was anything else but mere fun in what I had done—all on a sudden I saw I had given a cruel blow at a very tender spot; all at once the hideous brutality of my action shone forth glaringly before me. In shame and remorse, I stood before her like a kicked cur. I went out of the room without a word. What harm, indeed, did the old man do me ? His innocent pride had not hurt a single creature ! Why did then my pride take such a malignant turn ?

Besides, to another matter my eyes were suddenly opened today.

Hitherto I had looked on Kusum as a sort of commodity kept on view to attract the approving gaze of some bachelor. As I myself did not take any fancy to her, I used to think she would remain unmarried till somebody should happen to take pity upon her and offer his hands to her. Today I saw that in the far corner of this house, behind the physical form of this girl there lurked a human heart,—a soul, with all its joys and sorrows, sympathies and antipathies, was stretching as from east to west into the boundless mystery lands of the unknown past in the one way and the unforeseen future in the other. A human being with a heart—was she fit to be valued for her dowry and by the shape of her nose and eyes? I could not sleep the whole night. Very early next morning I crept into Grandpapa's house like a thief with all the stolen articles of value. I wished to make them over to the servant without saying anything to anyone.

As I was faltering in not finding the servant, I heard the voices of the old man and the girl talking to each other in a neighbouring room. The girl was asking in her sweet, loving voice: "grandpapa, and what did the Lat Sahib say to you yesterday?" Grandpapa was putting many fanciful eulogies of the old Nayanjore family in the Lat Sahib's mouth. The girl was expressing great elation at this account.

This tender deception of the soft-hearted little girl towards her old grand-parent brought tears into my eyes. I sat quietly for a long while; at length when, after finishing his yarn, Grandpapa came away, I went up to the girl with the ill-gotten gains of my swindle, and placing them before her came straight away without a word. Against the present-day fashion, I did not salute the old man on any other day. But to-day I bowed down to his feet. The old man must have surely felt that this excess of regard shown by me to him today was due to the Lieutenant-Governor's visit at his house yesterday. In an ecstatic mood, he went on coining stories about the *Chota Lat* as if with a hundred tongues. The people present of course considered it all a fib from start to finish, but they jocularly assented to all that he said.

When the others had left, with a bashful look and in a spirit of real humility I made a proposal to the old man. I said, "Though there can be no thought of a comparison in point of family respectability between ourselves and the Nayanjore Baboos, still—"

As soon as I had finished it, the old man clasped me to his bosom and in a fit of delight cried out:—"I am poor—I never thought, dear, that such good fortune was in store for her—my Kusum must have done great pieties in her former life that you have allowed yourself to be thus captured today!" As he said this, tears ran from the old man's eyes.

To-day, for the first time, the old man forgot his *duty* to his ancestors, and admitted he was *poor*—admitted that the Nayanjore family did not loose in dignity by making an alliance with me. All the time I was plotting to bring the old man into ridicule, he was wishing for me single-heartedly as a most desirable connexion.

Rashbihari Mookerjee

LIST OF RECENT BOOKS ON INDIA

- WORKMAN, DR. W. H.
 WORKMAN, FANNY BULLOCK }—Peaks and Glaciers of
 Nun Kun (A Record of Pioneer Exploration and
 Mountaineering in the Punjab Himalayas. London,
 Constable & Co., 18s.) .
- WILLIAMS, DR. G.—The Indian Student and the Present
 Discontent. (London, Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton,
 3s.)
- SACHAU, DR.—Alberuni's India (Revised and New Edition.
 London ; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 2 Vols.
 25s.)
- LEE-WARNER, SIR WILLIAM—The Native States of
 India (New and Revised Edition. London, Mac-
 millan & Co. 10s.)
- HOLDICH, COL. SIR THOMAS—The Gates of India, 10s.
- STEUART, J.—Burmah Through the Centuries, Rs. 2-4.
- SIEVEKING, T. V.—A Turning Point in the Indian
 Mutiny (London, Nutt : 7-6.)
- MALABARI, P. B. M.—Bombay in the Making (with an
 Introduction by Sir George Clarke ; London, Unwin
 & Co., 12-6)

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

The Modern Review

The August number of *The Modern Review* opens with the summary of a lecture given by Mrs. J. Ramsay MacDonald in London on *Some Problems of Women's life in India* which has been specially re-written for our contemporary in course of which the lecturer regrets that "the percentages of girls receiving education are absurdly low : in Bombay, 5·9 per cent. ; in Madras, 5·7 p.c. ; in Bengal, 3·2 p.c. ; in the United Provinces, 1·2 p.c." Referring to the *Swadeshi* movement, the lecturer observes : "There is a tremendous movement going on amongst the women and it is spreading as much amongst the women as amongst the men." Mr. John Law follows with the next article on *Modern Burma* which we have noticed at length in another section of this number. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar continues his article on the *History of Aurangzeb* which is followed by the sixth of a series of articles on the *Ancient Abbey of Ajanta* in which Sister Nivedita disapproves the theory that Indian Art was borrowed from the Greeks and says : "Magadha was the source and centre of the Indian Unity, both philosophically and artistically. This province was in fact, like the heart of an organism, whose systole and diastole are felt to its remotest bounds with a certain rhythmic regularity of pulsation, as tides of thought and inspiration." "Scrutator" follows with a well-reasoned protest against the action of the Madras Government in raising the scale of fees in schools and colleges in Madras. "J. D. W." gives an appreciative account of *The India Society* for the promotion of the study of Indian art and culture in England. "N" which evidently stands for Sister Nivedita regrets in course of an interesting short article at the "the paucity of population in the immense tracts of land in the Himalyan region" and suggests *To colonise the Himalyas*. In response to a request from the editor of the *Modern Review* to note down some memorable things about some remarkable personalities, Pundit Sivanath Shastri gives some "Personal Reminiscences of Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar". Mr. Rabindranath Tagore's letter to Mr. Myron H. Phelps of New York setting forth his views on *The Problem of India* is interesting. The editor's *Notes on Self-Rule in the East* has been noticed at length in another section of this number. There are few other storiettes, or articles having no special reference to India, notices of articles in English and American magazines, comments and criticisms and *Notes* on topics of varied interest in this number.

N. B. We regret that the non-receipt of the other leading magazines for this month at the time of our going to the Press preclude us from noticing them in this number. Ed., I. W.

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

**PARLIAMENT-
ARY INTEREST
IN INDIA** Surely John Stuart Mill had a prophetic vision. In a closely reasoned and elaborate minute he strongly opposed the idea of the transfer of the Government of the East India Company to the direct charge of the Crown. One of the arguments advanced by him against the proposed transfer of the Government of India to the Crown was his apprehension that the English Parliament would scarcely be able to devote the time and attention to Indian affairs which the development and expansion of the Empire would demand in future. He argued that an independent body of responsible men sitting as a Board of Directors would be able to watch and direct Indian affairs more satisfactorily than a busy Parliament would ever be expected to do. The American colony was lost to England more because of the inaction and indifference of the English Parliament than of the wickedness and perversity of George III's ministers. It was, therefore, feared that if India would ever be lost to England it would be on the floor of the House of Commons. Thank God, we have not come to that yet ; but we have come to the next stage of Parliamentary inaction and apathy.

It is said that with all his eloquence and learning the great Edmund Burke was known in the House of Commons as the 'dinner bell.' In these days, unfortunately, the appellation of the 'dinner bell' has well been earned by the country which, next to his own motherland, was Edmund Burke's principal love and concern. Not only the principal Indian debate of the year is relegated by ministerial wisdom—no matter whether it is the Liberal or the Conservative Party in power—to the fag end of a session, but, what is still worse, when the House goes into committee on the East India Revenue accounts it is almost a notice for the members to clear away and go out gossiping in the lobbies. This is almost as bad as the 'dinner bell.'

If it has come to this that, inspite of all the unrest and discontent that is now troubling the Government in this country and inspite of the serious protestations too often made by notable English statesmen and politicians that India is the brightest jewel in the Crown of England, there is such a poor attendance in the House of Commons on the Indian budget day as was witnessed on the even-

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ing of July 26 last, when Mr. Montagu asked the Speaker to leave the Chair to discuss the Indian Budget, then we must despair of the hope about India ever occupying the serious attention from the English Parliament at any other time. This almost reads like the fulfilment of John Stuart Mill's prophecy.

And what attendance did we not have in the House of Commons on the last Indian budget day ! On the Front Liberal Benches almost all the members of the Cabinet and the Ministry were conspicuous by their absence, and on the front opposition benches the most prominent man who graced the occasion with his presence and who, as he told the House, came on the special request of Mr. Balfour was Mr. Wyndham. India has not forgotten Mr. Wyndham, for only a few years ago he surprised the House by the singular confession of his 'colossal ignorance' of this country. Mr. Asquith was, of course, there, but not so much to interest himself in the affairs of India as to watch the effect on the House of the maiden speech of his whilom Secretary. And Lord Morley—"he who was once John Morley"—had not the patience—was it because of temper?—to sit through the whole debate. That is the interest which the elected representatives of the United Kingdom at St. Stephen take in the affairs of England's greatest dependency in the East.

There is another matter of singular interest in connection with the last budget which deserves special notice. Mr. J. C. Wedgwood had given due notice of a very important motion for this day and for this he had obtained a place in the ballot. Mr. Wedgwood's motion ran to the following effect :—

"That this House, whilst disavowing any sympathy with political crime or methods of agitation calculated to conduce to such crime, deploras the enactment and administration of recent restrictive legislation in India, especially the Press and Seditious Meetings Acts."

Naturally this motion obtained the precedent which Mr. Wedgwood had got for it in the ballot, but what was the time when he got the opportunity to move it ? 5 minutes to 9, that is nearly five hours after Mr. Montagu had opened the debate. Just fancy an important motion in the House, touching one of the most important phases of the Indian problem, being allowed to be brought no earlier than at the fag-end of a debate. This is not only unfair to the critics of the government but unfair also to India.

We should very much like to know why the under-secretary for India should be allowed to make a very large draft on the patience of Honourable members—Mr. Montagu took two hours

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to deliver his speech—with a rehearsal of official figures and statements which are never followed very closely by any member and which were discussed so very carefully in India four months before. We think that this portion of the under-secretary's speech might well be spared the House, specially in view of the fact that copies of the budget were laid on the table of the House for the reference of Honourable Members.

One more point. When the division was taken on Mr. Wedgwood's motion or, more properly, on Mr. Wedgwood's amendment to the Budget, there gathered in the House for the purpose of voting as many as three hundred and twenty-five members,—less than half of the total strength of the whole House. We shall not discuss the merits of the division nor the political character of the members who voted for and against the amendment. Generally the House is very full when important divisions are taken, but in the last Indian debate, inspite of the importance of the subject and the responsibility of the House, there were no more than 325 members all told to decide the policy and fate of India. Was it not Lord Wolverhampton—then Sir Henry Fowler—who threw out the bombast some years ago that every member of the House was a 'member for India'? This is how in England they carry out in practice the profession and platitudes of their party.

The fact of the matter is that this is not the right way to govern India. Parliament has no time to spare for India and members are not particularly interested in its affairs.. A comfortable conviction prevails in the House that the 'men on the spot' are governing the country very well and 'outside' interference would stand in the way of efficient administration. A more dangerous doctrine than this it is difficult to conceive in the interest of good government in India, but the fact remains at the same time that Parliament has neither the knowledge nor the time to look carefully into the systems of Indian government and administration. What's then to be the remedy? We should therefore like to suggest that, as it is impossible to go back to a Court of Directors or Governors at this stage, a Royal Commission, composed of members taken not from the party in power but from the opposition, should be sent out to India at the regular interval of every ten years, just after every census Report is published, to examine the state of affairs in this country. In the days of the East India Company, an inquiry was always held before its charters were renewed, and this inquiry had a very sobering and steadying influence on the 'men on the spot'. From the days of the famous "Fifth Report" down

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to the charter of 1853, the entire administration of the country was from time to time overhauled in consequence of the reports of these enquiries and they successfully prevented the bureaucracy from degenerating into a soulless machine. Now that Parliament has practically failed to discharge its responsibility to India adequately, we would very much urge upon the attention of Lord Morley the necessity and urgency of the institution of a periodic inquiry into the affairs of India. That way only can India be retained in the Crown of England and be developed into a progressive and advanced state, to the lasting glory of Britain and to the everlasting advantage of India.



Taken as a whole the last Indian debate in Parliament was rather a memorable one. Though the *Times* has not cared to reproduce in *extenso* the speeches delivered by Messrs Ramsay MacDonald and J.C. Wedgwood, there can be no doubt that theirs were the most sensible speeches delivered in Parliament for a long time. Both these gentlemen covered a wide range of subjects connected with India and put the Indian version of the situation with great force and strength. No one has any reason to complain that liberal truth and justice were in feeble hands on the last Indian debate in the House, and these two stalwart champions of English Liberalism did not fail to put forward a strong indictment of the Indian bureaucracy. It is fortunate that, though there is a tremendous wealth of subjects which open to receive English attention in an Indian debate, a large number of which was covered by Mr. Montagu in a very rambling speech, Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Wedgwood were not tempted away to discuss any but the repressive measures passed by the Government during recent years. Both of them had a good deal to say about the Indian Police and the Press Act of last February. Condemning the Press Act, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald observed :

“Above all—and this is the most serious effect which is going to happen—it is going to destroy that great middle party of moderate constitutionalists upon whom ultimately the Government of India is going to rest. It is going to make it easy for, and as a matter of fact invite, a lot of men whose character is not particularly good to profess loyalty which they do not feel, and to simply hang about the Lieutenant-Governors, the Governors, and the magistrates’ verandahs in order to see what is to be picked up by this profession of loyalty. It is going to invite this expression of insincere and cheap loyalty on the one hand, while on the other hand it is going

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to drive below the surface that feeling of objection to, irritation with, and disagreement with, the action of the Government, which is always much more dangerous to civil liberty when silenced than when it is allowed to find expression in the public Press."

Mr. Wedgwood, who hailed not from the Labourites or the Nationalists but from the Liberal Benches, did not discuss the Indian reactionary policy from the merely Indian point of view. He dealt with it as an 'English matter'—as affecting the good name and honour of England. 'An increasing wave of bureaucracy is swallowing up India' and if the bureaucratic interference with the liberty of the individual was not duly arrested, he feared that 'England might one day be affected by it.' Mr. Wedgwood rightly points out :—

"All through our political development there has persistently run one idea of the glory of our racial character and history, an ideal which has inspired our foremost men in all ages, an ideal for which men have suffered and died, by the side of which talk of the welfare of the people sinks into contemptible insignificance. It is the overwhelming love of justice and of freedom. The genius of Rome ran to law, order and control. It is for the Germans to aim at efficient government, but we are sunk low indeed if we must drop all that has made England great among the nations of the world in order to point the political ideals which are summed up in that phrase, *Salus populi suprema lex.*"

Regarding the four repressive laws recently passed in India and the Deportation Act of 1878, Mr. Wedgwood makes some very sensible observations :—

"It is only three years since we started to use these weapons, and they follow each other in dread succession one after another, each more fatal than its predecessor to those who seek truth and would follow her, to those who recognise justice and would stand for her. Continue your work by closing schools and colleges. Will that suffice? Have Milton's "Areopagitica" burnt by the common hangman. Search the post for stray copies of the "Isles of Greece" or Mill on "Liberty." You will find them more dangerous to this system you seek to set up than a pamphlet by Mr. Mackarness on one detail of the results of such a system. You can go down and down to deeper and deeper depths, but you cannot get low enough towards autocratic government, which grows on what it feeds."

Mr. Wedgwood speaks of the Indian Police :—"I do not think you can radically improve the police system of India so long as

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your legislation is of the character of these five Acts. It is autocratic government that creates a bad police, and not a bad police that creates an autocratic government. If you have these five Acts, I do not care whether you pay your police twice as much, or whether you can manage to draw them from any other stratum of Indian society, whatever you do, so long as you rely upon Acts such as the Seditious Meetings Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act, or the Press Act, the police will be worthy of the Government, no more and no less."

After detailing the effects of the repressive policy of the Government of India, Mr. Wedgwood put the following question straight to the House : "Did we want India ultimately to be self-governing or not ? If we did not, let us drop cant and say so ; but if we look forward to India becoming a Federation like South Africa 10, 50 or even 100 years hence then let us be open and above board and tell the people that we aimed at that solution and lay our plans for it." To this straight question of Mr. Wedgwood, Mr. Montagu of course returned no reply and the question was, therefore, practically shelved to the disappointment of the friends of India.

It is difficult to recall to mind a nobler passage in all the wide range of English classics than the following with which Mr. Wedgwood closed his brilliant speech in the House :—

"We shall be told, perhaps, that it was necessary to pass these Acts in order to protect the lives of our fellow countrymen. Let us put that at its true value. After all, there are things more tolerable than death. Sometimes there are few things more glorious than death. The fathers and grandfathers of our Anglo-Indian countrymen went through the days of the Mutiny. They fought behind Nicholson and behind Havelock in the narrow winding streets, they were butchered in Cawnpore and Delhi, but they died for the honour of England, and the honour of England is not made up by battles alone. It has been built up brick by brick throughout the ages, and laid in sweat and blood by the people who have suffered and died. The race who faced death at the Kashmir Gate will face as coolly the bomb and the dagger of the assassin, and as willingly for the honour of England, that her honour and good name may no longer be dragged in the mud and the dishonour of these five Acts."

Mr. Keir Hardie who opened his lips at about 10 in the night confined himself almost entirely to the police question and the member who brought the debate to a close was none other than our old friend, Sir John Rees. *He took up the brief on behalf of the*

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Indian Civil Service and said that its critics were 'mere itinerant agitators and political week-enders.' Of the five other members who had taken part in this debate besides those mentioned by us—Sir H. Seymour King and Messrs Taylor and Lloyd, gave all political questions a wide berth and discussed railway board grievances and opium. Mr. Wyndham covered a wide field and put in a feeble plea on behalf of an excise duty to counteract the customs duty imposed by Sir Guy Wilson, supported the defence of the Indian police, and had a kind word to put in on behalf of Indian Moslems. Lord Ronaldshay had a bitter fling at the Indian Press and characterised the Press Act of February last as 'not sufficiently drastic.' He wanted something still 'more drastic.'

Now we come to the speech of the new under-secretary for India. He made a very discursive speech, as we have already said, and besides taking too much of the House's time by an elaboration of figures in connection with Indian foreign affairs, specially in connection with the flight of the Dalai Lama from Tibet, agriculture, trade improvement, plague and malaria, revenue and expenditure, the restriction of opium cultivation and the Chinese agreement and a discussion and description of the new taxes in India, particularly with reference to those on petroleum and tobacco, he plunged deep into the political problems of India, making some desultory and academic comments on the genesis of Indian unrest. Mr. Montagu took the House into his confidence regarding the policy which he and his chief were following in India. "His Majesty's Government," Mr. Montagu informed the House, "are determined to arm and assist the Indian Government in its unflinching war against sedition and illegitimate manifestations of unrest, while it shows an increasingly sympathetic and encouraging attitude towards legitimate aspirations." Legitimate aspirations forsooth ! We do not know of any period during the last twenty years when the Government of India has shown, or at least has been anxious to show, an increasingly sympathetic and encouraging attitude towards them. Legitimate aspirations, indeed ! Is not the hope of redressal of all sore grievances a legitimate aspiration ? If so, what has the Government done to show its sympathy in the matter of our agitation against the partition of Bengal, for the separation of judicial and executive functions, for the reduction of the military and home charges, for the wider diffusion of knowledge and for hundred and other things besides ? As for helping the Government of India in its war against sedition, Lord Morley has not only gone back upon the principles of his life-time, but

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has sanctioned a series of repressive measures which has produced in our day a mute, sullen, and lifeless India, reflecting no credit either upon the governing power or the statesmanship of England. Of course Mr. Montagu defended the Press Act with great enthusiasm, but he supported it with no new argument and threw no new light upon the subject. He retailed to the House the old story of the licentiousness of the Indian Press and the inadequacy of the older laws to cope with the existing evils. We should very much like to present Mr. Gokhale and his followers in the Imperial Council with the following observation of Mr. Montagu : " If there is any one who thinks that the Press Act was forced upon unwilling India I would beg of him to study the debate in the Viceroy's Council which has been presented as a Parliamentary paper and note how speaker after speaker acknowledged the lamentable necessity for such a measure." Poor Mr. Gokhale !

On the next subject which Mr. Montagu deals with—the police and Mr. Mackarness' pamphlet—we are precluded from offering any comments at this stage. From the police Mr. Montagu passes on to the educational methods in India and in this connection makes a most astounding pronouncement. We are told that " the worst danger that threatens India is the lawlessness and disregard for authority among the schoolmasters and students. I have described the political difficulty in India as largely the result of western education. Surely the solution must be found in the imperfections of the system that produces it, and we must endeavour to obtain an improvement in the educational methods both here and in India." With one stone Mr. Montagu kills two birds—he condemns not only the students and the teachers, but he also condemns the system of education which is just now in vogue in India. Mr. Montagu is a young man and we can forgive him for the exaggeration of his language. Out of more than a million students in the various schools and colleges in India not more than hundred have yet been convicted of any complicity with crime or sedition and not more than a couple of hundred altogether have been arrested in all India for any crimes connected with seditious activity. Yet we are told that the temper of the students is the worst danger in India at the present moment. No, Mr. Montagu, it is wide of the truth and Sir Herbert Risley must have played a cruel hoax upon you. It is not the temper of the student that is threatening, but it is the temper of the Indian Civil Service which practically rules India that fills us with despair and gloom. The students and their professors are not half so great a danger to the State as the repressive measures inaugurated by it in the name of suppressing illegitimate manifestations of unrest and which fly in the face of every liberal principle of the last 200 years. What threatens to be a still greater danger and calamity to India is the new educational policy of the government. Mr. Montagu said that the co-ordinated system of education which they propose to establish under the new Member of the Council would so spread education throughout India that

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a time would soon dawn when the Press Act and Seditious Meetings Act would no longer be necessary. We have heard of novels being written with a purpose but have not so long heard of any educational policy being initiated with a purpose ; and if in England, America and Europe a free and wise development of an educational policy has not succeeded in stamping sedition, crime and anarchy, what can be the secret of success upon which the Government of India can depend for the dawning of such a time when such things as the Press Act and the Seditious Meetings Act would be absolutely unnecessary ? We should very much like to know if the Government of India have taken out any patent of this new educational discovery ; but we have no doubt when this new policy blooms out in full splendour European countries will have none of it.

The next topic which Mr. Montagu touched upon is the blessings of the new Indian Councils Act,—how the non-official members of the Council have shown remarkable dignity and sense of responsibility and how the official members have displayed all the skill of old parliamentary hands in conducting debates. "The Councils Act has resulted," Mr. Montagu modestly informed the House, "in producing excellent debates, creating opportunities for the ventilation of grievances and of public views, creating public opinion, permitting the governors to explain themselves, giving to those interested in politics a better and a more productive field for their persuasive powers than the rather more sterile debates in the Congress." Ah, the poor Congress ! And who yesterday would have thought so low of it ?

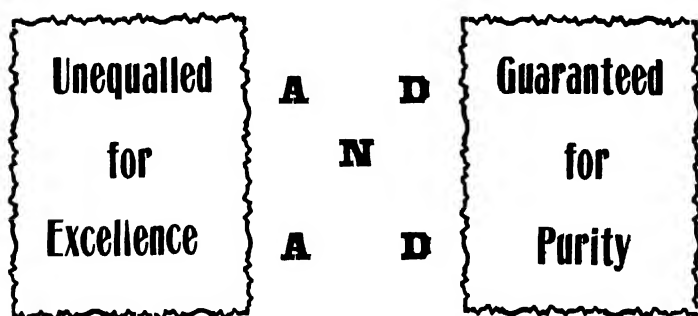
With Mr. Montagu's advice to members of the House as to how they should behave themselves and what attitude they should take up towards Indian anarchy and sedition, we are not particularly concerned in this place. He indulges in endless platitudes on these subjects, as in every other, and after the fashion of Lord Rosebery coins a new political dictum. "Remember," says Mr. Montagu, "that every effort for reform is irrevocable in India." How beautifully untrue is this observation would be found from the mere fact that the important rights of citizenship conceded to India from the days of Metcalfe and Bentinck to the days of a Ripon have nearly all been practically revoked by the two last administrations in India. Yet we are told how irrevocable is reform in India.

Mr. Montagu closed his maiden oration in Parliament with some stale observations on the Indian Civil Service and the achievements of Lord Minto. Of course Mr. Montagu pays a brilliant tribute to the achievements or, as the *Times* would have it, the 'roseate achievements' of Lord Minto, but then it must not be forgotten, as Mr. Montagu insisted upon reminding the world, that Lord Minto after all has acted the part of an agent only of Lord Morley and his Council. Quoting a provision of the Act of Parliament, Mr. Montagu tried to prove that the Secretary of State for India is the supreme power and the ultimate authority in all matters concerning the government and revenues of India. It is a constitutional question which no doubt opens up a vista of controversy and a proper decision of the question would naturally hang more upon unwritten procedure than upon written laws.

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